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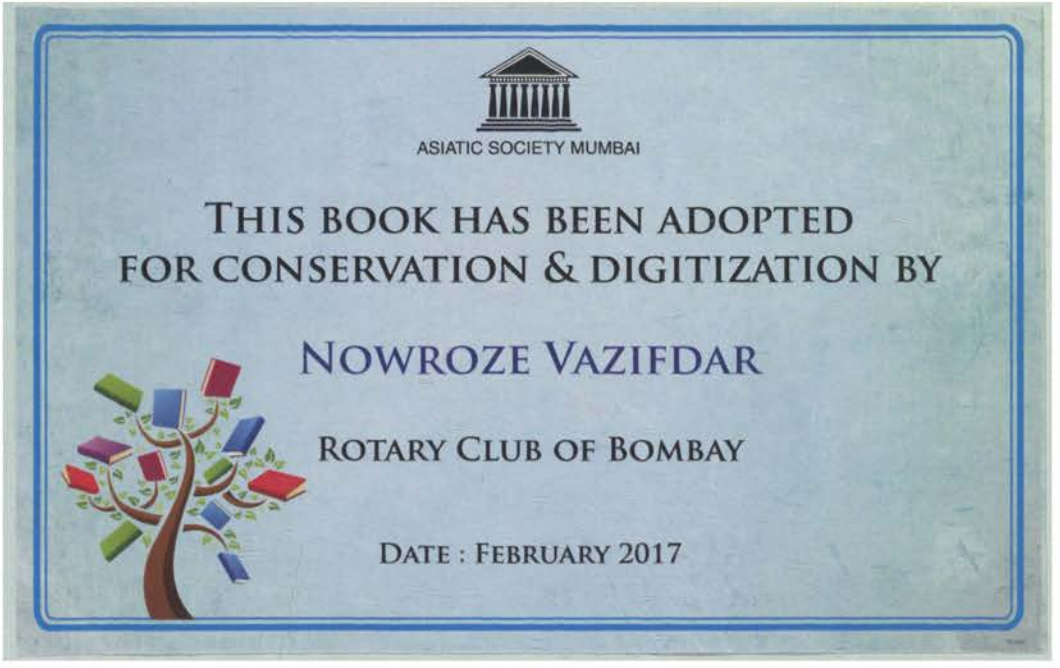

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PREFACE

THIS little monograph on a subject of unfailing interest is not meant for the learned or the leisured, but for the average visitor having a nodding acquaintance with Indian history but very little time to spare. He can "do" Delhi, or at least its principal monuments, in a day if he likes. A taxi will take him from Connaught Place *viâ* Jantar Mantar to the Government House in a few minutes. From the Government House Safdar Jang's tomb is not far off, and the next objective should be the Qutb. On either side of the road lie ruined tombs and mosques. The busy visitor, if he so desires, may have a look at Hauz-i-Khas, Tripli Mandal, Moth ki-Masjid and Siri, but to the Qutb group of buildings he should be able to devote a little more time. Let him then drive to Tughluqabad and thence to Dargah Nizamuddin and Humayun's tomb. He may next go straight to Purana Qila by the Mathura road or drive past the Lodi Golf Club to the Princes' Park and so to the Fort. From the Fort to Firuz Shah Kotla and from the Kotla to the Red Fort through the Delhi gate should be the next stages. After spending an hour in the Fort if it is open he should drive past the Jami Masjid, through the Chandni Chauk, to the Queen's Garden and thence to the University *viâ* Kashmiri Gate, Qudsiah Garden, Ludlow Castle and Flagstaff Tower. The University grounds offer a pleasant sight during the flowering months of the cold season. From the University he should drive over the ridge by Hindu Rao Hospital, the Asoka Pillar and the Mutiny Memorial to the Birla temples on Reading Road and back to Connaught Place, thus completing the circuit.

There is no place for architectural details and learned controversies in a popular account of this kind but it is hoped that nothing has been omitted which may interest the average reader. A detailed history of the ruling

dynasties has been deliberately avoided but the lists given in the appendix will supply the general information about them. The Bibliography may be of some use to those who may like to improve their knowledge of Delhi. It is, however, necessary to point out, even at the risk of being fastidious, that the early Muslim sultans were Turks and *not* Pathans or Afghans as is commonly believed, only two dynasties, the Lodis and the Surs having come from the Pathan stock, and that the Timurids were also good Turks and not Mughals though they had a modicum of Mughal blood in their veins. It is, however, too late to replace the current misnomer by a more correct name.

I am indebted to my old friend, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Director General of Archaeology, for the kind loan of and permission to use photographs belonging to his Department. Brigadier Bullock very kindly went through the typescript and made several valuable suggestions.

S. N. Sen

National Archives of India.

DELHI AND ITS MONUMENTS

EARLY HISTORY

DELHI claims an antiquity far beyond the ken of history. Popular belief identifies the mound on which Sher Shah built his fort with Indraprastha, where Maya, the Danava architect, is said to have built a splendid palace and court for the Pandava princes (circa 1000 B.C.?). No relic of the Epic Age has, it is true, been so far discovered, but the secrets of the site still await the explorer's spade. The tradition in any case is fairly old, and goes as far back as the days of Qutbuddin Aibak. The masonry work in which the credulous visitor delights to discover the ruins of Draupadi's kitchen is nothing but the remains of a Muslim *hamam* (bathroom), and the temple associated with Kunti's name is a very modern structure. But the mound itself would be an ideal place for a pre-historic settlement, and similar antiquity has also been claimed for the present sites of Nigambodh Ghat and the near-by temple known as Nili Chhatri. How long Indraprastha or Indarpat enjoyed its imperial glory, why was it ultimately abandoned and when did it relapse to obscurity we do not know. If tradition is to be credited the Pandavas transferred their court to Hastinapura soon after their signal victory at Kurukshetra, and Indraprastha was relegated to the second place in the empire. The only surviving son of Dhritarashtra, their blind uncle, was installed there probably as a deputy, and it is interesting to note that Buddhist traditions of the first and second century A.D. refer to a line of Kuru princes reigning at the old city. Protected by the ridge and the river, situated on the main trade route between two important river systems it was marked for the commercial and political pre-eminence which it early attained.

The traditional site of Pandava City

How many centuries intervened between the passing of the polyandrous Pandavas and the coming of the imperial Mauryas we do not precisely know. We are equally in the dark about the political and economic status of Indraprastha during this long interval. If the city ever recovered from the inevitable consequences of royal desertion all records of its new prosperity must have been irretrievably lost. When the third Maurya Emperor began his propaganda for peace, love and non-violence he did not consider the old Pandava capital worthy of one of his exhortatory epigraphs, though two lofty pillars of shining sandstone bearing his moral precepts in clearly incised letters were set up at Meerut and Topra (near Ambala). Obviously in Asoka's time the main route of traffic was diverted north, for the emperor was really anxious that his edicts should be widely read. He selected holy places of pilgrimage like Girnar, Rupnath and Rummindei, emporiums of trade like Sopara, roadside rocks likely to attract the notice of numerous wayfarers such as Mansera and Shahbazgarhi, and places of provincial importance like Jaugada and Maski as suitable sites for his religious inscriptions, and obviously the old prehistoric mound no longer satisfied any of these prerequisites.

Maurya Monuments

It is a far cry from the imperial Mauryas to the imperial Guptas. If the old mound itself still remained in obscurity the neighbourhood must have somewhat gained in importance, for on the Vishnupad hill, somewhere near the present village of Meherauli, a conquering monarch, now forgotten, had set up an iron pillar to record his valorous deeds. The inscription was first deciphered by Prinsep, but the accuracy of his reading was successfully challenged by another eminent savant—Bhau Daji. Into that learned controversy we need not enter. It is now generally accepted that the inscription is in Gupta script, and should be attributed to the fourth century of the Christian era. The hero is one king Chandra whose identity still remains

The King of the Iron Pillar

undocumented, for the inscription is without a date and the usual royal genealogy. One naturally feels inclined to identify him with the warrior king of the same name (Chandragupta II Vikramaditya of the Gupta Dynasty, c. 380-413 A.D.) who held the major part of northern India in fee during the 4th century A.D.* But positive proof is lacking and the prince of the iron pillar must remain a mystery until fresh light illuminates his perplexing personality. The pillar itself is an antiquity of no mean interest. Its total height exceeds twenty-three feet, the lower diameter is sixteen inches, gradually diminishing to about twelve near the capital which once bore the figure of Garuda, the divine man-bird venerated as the vehicle of Vishnu. Some unknown vandals fired matchlocks and cannon at the shaft, probably to test its strength, without causing any damage. But what excites popular wonder is not its invulnerability but the absence of rust in spite of exposure to sun and rain for nearly fifteen hundred years. There has been much speculation about the component material. Dr Bhau Daji held that the pillar was made not of iron but of a compound of many metals. The great French naturalist, Jacquemont, called it "soft iron". According to Murray Thompson, the shaft is made of "pure malleable iron of 7·66 specific gravity". In more recent times it has formed the subject of an investigation by such a famous metallurgist as Sir Robert Hadfield. King Chandra's monument eloquently testifies to the mechanical skill and scientific achievements of the ancient Hindus.

The iron pillar throws only a flickering light on the deep darkness that envelopes the early history of Delhi. It has been alleged that an inscription of the great Gurjara-Pratihara Emperor, Bhoja I, was discovered in the neighbourhood of the Old Fort. But so far we have not been able to trace this epigraph, and we are, therefore constrained to leave it out of account. In the early years of the eleventh century northern India was visited by a Muslim scholar of exceptional inquisitiveness. Abu Rihan Al-biruni wrote

about many notable places and things, but either he had not heard of Delhi or he did not find anything worth recording about it. In any case the place was not wealthy enough to excite the cupidity of Mahmud of Ghazni, and Utbi, his court historian, had nothing to say of that city. But despite the silence of the early Muslim chroniclers the place may have attracted the notice of the Tomar Rajputs within two decades of Mahmud's death. According to a Hindi inscription on the iron pillar, which may or may not be genuine, Delhi was peopled by the Tomar prince Anangpal in 1052 A.D. Possibly there was an earlier Tomar settlement around the present ruins of Surajkund which old traditions associate with Surajpal, a son of Anangpal I, and it is not unlikely that the nearby village of Anekapur was really named after the father (Anangpur). Delhi passed under the Chauhan ruler of Ajmer, Vigraharaj IV, between 1151 and 1163 A.D. and the Chauhan chief boasts of his conquests and victories in an epigraph of 1163 inscribed on Asoka's Topra pillar. It was from his great-grand-nephew, Prithviraj III, Rai Pithora of Muslim historians, that Delhi was conquered by Muhammad bin Sam in 1193 A.D.

The Tomars and the Chauhans

Two records of 1826 A.D. (of dubious character, we are afraid) suggest that the line of Prithviraj was not extinct till then. It may therefore be safely assumed that Delhi rose to prominence under the Tomar and the Chauhan princes. Probably an earlier Rajput settlement about Surajkund was later abandoned, and in course of time the head-quarters of the reigning family was shifted further north. Since then Delhi has been moving north and east. Only twice was the order reversed, once when the founder of the Tughluq monarchy preferred an isolated rock to the plain below, and again when the British Government decided to build their new city south of Shahjahanabad.

QILA RAI PITHORA: THE EARLIEST MUSLIM CAPITAL

WHEN they overthrew the Rajputs, the Turks chose for their capital the city of their adversaries. Here lived and reigned the first nine Muslim sovereigns of Delhi, Qutbuddin Aziam, Iltutmish, Rukunuddin, Razyya, Muizuddin Bahram, Alauddin Masud, Nasiruddin Mahmud and Ghiyasuddin Balban, popularly known as slave kings, though all but three of them were born in purple and, a slave ceases to be a slave when he wears a crown. Qila Rai Pithora was strengthened by its new masters and within its circuit were built the famous white palace of Qutbuddin Aibak (1206-1210), the turquoise palace of Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1211-1236) and the green palace where the god-fearing king Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (1246-1266) held his court. Delhi was then a busy city humming with trade and throbbing with life. Traders used to come here from far-off cities of Central Asia and soldiers came in hundreds from all parts of the Muslim world in quest of adventure, fame and fortune. But the splendid palaces and superb private mansions were far surpassed in grandeur and beauty by the cathedral mosque which the first Muslim Sultan dedicated to the glory of his faith.

Quwwat-ul-Islam

Quwwat-ul-Islam was a living symbol of the might of the new force, which impelled the Turks and the Afghans to carry its banner further east and south; and the piety of successive sultans added new arches, fresh towers, cloistered courts and domed gateways to the original mosque. Qutbuddin built in a hurry, and twenty-seven Hindu and Jaina temples were pulled down to furnish materials for a prayer-hall worthy of the conquerors. The pillars still bear all the traces of their origin and sculptured representations of men and animals, forbidden by the Quran, tell their own story. On some of the pillars are found female figures mounted on lions, on others will be noticed human faces and *kirtimukhas*. The Muslim over-

seers who supervised the work of Hindu masons and workmen had no time to efface from the stone slabs the figures of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, and some of them still retain sculptured depictions of scenes from Krishna's life. Not all the Hindu gods and Jaina saints were, however, permitted to peer at the praying congregation. Only those near the ceiling, and therefore least conspicuous, were left alone, but every obnoxious figure down below, which might distract their attention or offend their sense of decorum was ruthlessly chiselled off.

There is reason to believe that the original mosque was finished in the minimum time. As Fergusson explains, to rebuild with the carved fragments of old temples was not difficult at all, "because the joints of the pillars are all fitted with the precision that Hindu patience alone could give. Each compartment of the roof is composed of nine stones—four architraves, four angular and one central slab, all so exactly fitted and so independent of cement, as easily to be taken down and put up again". But the Muslim overseers and supervisors had no time to sort out properly the component parts of the exquisitely sculptured columns when they rearranged them according to their own architectural canons, and a careful visitor may be surprised to find that in some cases the shaft does not match with the pedestal, being originally parts of two different pillars. The enclosing walls conform strictly to Muslim style and so do the pointed arches, although they bear clear evidence of Hindu inaptitude for a design so far unknown to them.

Hindu craftsmen and Muslim style

The plan of the original mosque was simple enough. It consisted of a rectangular court 142 feet 180 feet, open to the sky and enclosed on three sides (the north, south and east) by colonnaded corridors. Inside the court stands the iron pillar of King Chandra. It was doubtless treated as an ornamental piece, for no one at that date knew what message it bore. The main entrance is a domed gate on the east, on the lower face of which is an inscription that

invoking God's mercy for Qutbuddin, the builder of the mosque. The northern and southern walls are also pierced by two gates opposite each other. According to an inscription on the recessed surface of the northern gateway, "the building was commenced by the high command of Muhammad bin Sam, ally of the Amir-ul-Muminin". Thus the merit of this pious act was to be shared by the master and the servant alike. The mosque or the prayer hall proper was naturally on the west, for the faithful must turn his face Meccawise while praying. The prayer hall was screened off by a wall 8 feet thick with a series of lofty arches. Built of red and yellow sandstone, 53 feet high and 22 feet wide, with "a lace-work of delicate carving" of Hindu workmanship, the central arch still offers a faint impression of the elegance that the Quwwat-ul Islam was in the palmy days of its glory. The screen wall, however, had no place in the original plan and was added by Qutbuddin after his return from Ghazni.

Iltutmish extended it both north and southwards by 119 feet, enlarged the court, probably enclosing the Qutb Minar within its compass, and added new corridors about 1230 A.D. Further extension followed in the reign of Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) when the rich spoils of the hitherto undespoiled south offered fresh impetus to his building impulse. Aspiring to outdo every one of his predecessors in piety as well as prowess Alauddin decided to extend the court, add an ornamental gateway and build a second minar, double the size of the Qutb, to its north. The Alai Darwaza was completed, a college was built behind the mosque on its south-west side and the construction of the Alai Minar was actually commenced when the death of the dreaded conqueror put a stop to it. The core still stands there to the height of some eighty feet, a mute witness to the futility of human ambitions.

Alai Minar

Quwwat-ul-Islam is now in complete ruins but it may not be out of place to note here that the present remains

have been once tampered with by a Major Smith, who earned an unenviable reputation for his indiscriminate reconstruction. Within the holy precincts sleep Iltutmish and Alauddin, two of the greatest leaders that Muslim India ever produced, and not far off from the mosque stands a tomb now in complete ruins, where possibly rests another Sultan, Ghiyasuddin Balban (1268-1287), great alike in peace and war. The walls of Iltutmish's tomb, the oldest of its kind in India, are sumptuously sculptured but the dome they once sustained is gone. A similar fate has overtaken Alauddin's *madrasa* and his tomb, but the superb domed gateway that the Khalji monarch built still survives. It is most elaborately ornamented and its horse-shoe arches offer marked contrast to the pointed arch of the main cathedral. The Alai Darwaza can be seen to the greatest advantage in the light of the morning sun when it shines like an exquisitely jewelled casket. Outside Alauddin's gate, not ten yards from it, is a lovely little tomb which Imam Zamin, a contemporary of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517), built for himself. Near the Alai Darwaza, to its north, stands in its solitary grandeur the lofty minar that goes by the name of Qutb.

Iltutmish's tomb

Alai Darwaza

THE QUTB-MINAR

TWO hundred and thirty-eight feet in height, the minar is divided into five storeys. Its history is to be found in its inscriptions. According to Sir Syed Ahmed, one inscription runs as follows: "Amir of Amirs, Commander-in-Chief, the Chief in the State, Qutb". Two inscriptions refer to Muhammad bin Sam. Two other epigraphs assert that the building was commenced and completed by Iltutmish's order. Yet other two refer to the repair and restoration of the minar by Firuz Shah bin Rajab and Sikandar Shah Lodi (1489-1517). There is reason to believe that the two topmost

History of the Minar

storeys were entirely rebuilt by the Tughlaq ruler, as they differ in style as well as material from the rest of the tower. If General Cunningham's reading of the *Nagri* inscriptions is accepted, Firuz Shah had employed a Hindu architect in repairing the minar when it was damaged by lightning in 1368 A.D. Firuz Shah had furnished the minar with a cupola which was in existence till 1794. In 1803 Major Smith built another superstructure which appeared so incongruous that Lord Hardinge ordered its removal in 1848. It is now to be seen in the lawn near the Dak Bungalow. Such in short is the story of the tower which Fergusson judged to be "the most beautiful example of its class known to exist anywhere".

Was it a tower of victory? Or was it an adjunct of the neighbouring mosque, a *ma'zina* wherefrom the *mu'azzin* used to summon the faithful to prayer at specified hours? Probably it served both purposes. A tower built so near the mosque, copiously embellished with Quranic texts, could not but share the sacred character of the neighbouring edifice, but its very height rendered the upper storeys superfluous for the *mu'azzin*'s purpose, though they served very well to illustrate and emphasise the superior might of the power against which Rajput daring and chivalry had proved of no avail.

Who gave this unique tower its name, Qutb the king, or Qutb the saint? If the king's title finds a place in one of the inscriptions the saint was the preceptor of the Sultan (Iltutmish) under whom the minar was completed. In popular estimation probably the saint was a greater personage than the soldier, for he was believed to have been endowed with supernatural power. Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki came from Ush in Central Asia. He was a disciple and the apostolic successor of Sheikh Muinuddin Chisti. The shrine of Qutb Sahib has afforded two of the royal tombs of Delhi, Shah Alam II (1759-1806) and Akbar II

(1808-1837), their last resting place. A third would fain sleep here but fate decided otherwise. Bahadur Shah II, the last titular Timurid emperor of Delhi, died an exile at Rangoon (1862). It will be wrong to suppose that only puppet kings sought the protection of so potent a saint. The first Shah Alam (1707-1712) lies buried in Qutb Sahib's *dargah* and the privilege is shared by famous historians, physicians and other notables of Delhi. Strangely enough Zabita Khan, the Rohilla chief of Saharanpur, and if local tradition is believed, his infamous son, Ghulam Qadir, from whom the proud house of Timur suffered the greatest wrong, also lie in close neighbourhood of their royal victims in the same compound. Sultana Razivya (1236-1240), the only lady who occupied the throne of Delhi, however, found no place either near her father in the Quwwat-ul-Islam compound or in the shrine of Qutb Sahib. An unassuming tomb in an obscure lane near Turkman gate has been identified by Sir Syed Ahmad as Razivya's, but on what evidence we do not know.

Razivya Sultana's tomb

Popular legends assign the next tomb to her sister Suziyya, a princess about whom contemporary chroniclers are completely silent. According to Minhaj-us-Siraj, a reliable historian of her times, Razivya met with a violent death at Kaithal. Ibn Batuta, however, asserts that the sultana's dead body was later exhumed and reinterred on the banks of the Jumna 5½ miles from Delhi. But Ibn Batuta was notoriously credulous and his testimony on this point still remains uncorroborated. The tomb of one of Razivya's brothers at Sultan Garhi, three and a half miles from the Qutb, is remarkable for its architectural peculiarities.

Let us return to the minar. The first three storeys are of red sandstone with fluted surface. The first storey has alternate angular and semi-circular flutes

Structure of the Minar

with six ornamental bands. The flutes of the second storey are uniformly semi-circular and those of the third uniformly angular, the shafts

of the fourth and fifth storeys are polluted but the resultant monotony is relieved by alternate marble and red sandstone bands. Each of the five storeys is surmounted by a projecting gallery encircling the tower, supported by large stone brackets, decorated with honeycomb work, the finish and elaboration of which is not surpassed by anything of its kind at Delhi". The original balustrades, however, are gone, being removed by that zealous restorer, Major Smith. His own contribution has been aptly described as an illustration of "the present flimsy style of garden architecture".

Who built the Tower?

The Qutb Minar has long formed a subject of a bitter controversy. Some protagonists of Rajput culture claimed for it a Rajput origin. The story runs that it was originally built by Prithviraj so that his beloved Samyogita might have a glimpse of the holy Jumna every morning. The discovery of *Nagri* inscriptions in the minar gave some semblance of support to this story, for on the left hand jamb of the main door is inscribed the name of "the king Pirthi", but other *Nagri* inscriptions refer to Sultan Alauddin Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Shah Tughluq, and mention that one Chunilal fixed a screen in Samvat 1882 (1775 A.D.), and the mason Mohanlal recorded his name on the 5th of the bright half of Bhadra in Samvat 1935 (1878 A.D.). The minar is so obviously Islamic in style and character that we may safely dismiss the story of Rajput origin as absolutely unfounded. But which of the early Muslim sultans built it? Sir Syed Ahmad claimed to have read in one of the inscriptions on the basement storey the name of the first sultan, Qutb. If the name was ever inscribed it has since become illegible though the title is still there. Two inscriptions on the same storey clearly refer to Qutb's master Muhammad bin Sam and it must be attributed to the former as his slave and son-in-law Iltutmish did not owe allegiance to Ghor at the time of his accession to the throne. An inscription on the fourth storey asserts that "(the erection of) this building was ordered during the reign of . . . . Abul

Muzaffar Iltutmish. But this is contradicted by one of the inscriptions on the second storey, which says that 'The completion of this building was commanded by the king who is helped from the heavens (named) Shamsud-Haq wa-d-din, Iltutmish-i-Qutbi, the helper of the prince of the faithful'. In the third storey Muhammad Auin Koh claims to have completed the building under his superintendence. It will probably be safe to infer that the construction of the minar was originally commenced by Qutbuddin whose title is inscribed on the first storey and completed by Shamsuddin Iltutmish, who does not hesitate to designate himself as Qutbi, a protegé or slave of Qutb, and the inscription on the fourth storey very likely refers to a part and not to the whole of the minar.

THE KHALJI-DELHI: SIRI

OLD Delhi lost some of its importance with the death of Balban in 1287. His worthless grandson transferred his head-quarters to Kilokheri, near modern Okhla, which became the new city for the time being. Kaiqubad either built a new palace there or renovated an old castle that was in existence before his grandfather's reign. It was from here that he was kicked into the river and out of existence by the partisans of Jalaluddin, the first of the Khalji kings (1290-1296). The new sultan continued to live at Kilokheri, though the honour of the ceremonial capital still belonged to Qila Rai Pithora. No vestige of the Kilokheri palace has been preserved. Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316), Jalaluddin's son-in-law and successor, built a new capital for himself at Siri. His palace of a thousand pillars, which witnessed so many triumphs and tragedies, has completely gone to ruins. The Mughal menace had assumed serious proportions when this palace was built and beneath the foundation were buried thousands of Mughal heads. It was here that Alauddin's general, Malik Kafur, displayed the rich booty

The Palace of a thousand pillars

that he brought from the south, and it was here again that the great general met his end. On the terrace of this palace was Alauddin's son, Mubarak Shah (1316-1320) unceremoniously murdered by his low-born favourite, and for a brief spell the throne of the Khaljis passed to a Hindu outcast (Khusru), who assumed the title of Nasiruddin. Khusru Khan's reign did not last long. Nothing would induce the Muslim grandees to recognise a low caste Hindu as the leader of the faithful and the usurper was deposed and put to death by Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320). Carr Stephen thinks Alauddin's palace was still extant at the time of Timur's invasion, and the ladies of his seraglio visited this marvel of architecture at Siri and not the palace of the same name subsequently built by Muhammad bin Tughluq. Happily the place of a thousand pillars was not the only work on which Alauddin's fame as a builder rests. Reference has already been made to the superb domed gateway of the Quwwat-ul-Islam that bears his name. At the western extremity of the new town Alauddin built a magnificent tank over an area of 70 acres. It was extensively repaired by Sultan Firuz. Timur (1398) encamped on the bank of Alauddin's tank after his victory over the Delhi troops. The reservoir had at the time enough water to meet the needs of the people of the city. It presents to-day a sorry sight. The tank has entirely gone dry, though the stone steps built by Firuz Shah are still intact. The piety of that monarch built a *madrasa* here which is now in disuse. The good king was buried near this college, and his tomb is in a fair state of preservation.

Hauz-i-Khas

TUGHLUQABAD

GHIYASUDDIN Tughluq (1320-1325), though crowned at Siri, did not choose to stay there. He went south in search of a suitable site for his capital. Of the fortress city of Tughluqabad, nothing remains but the bastioned walls and some underground chambers. The lofty gateways

Monuments of Ghiyasuddin

and the triple storeyed towers and the remnants of the massive ramparts still look impressive, and the only monument from which some idea of the new architectural style can be formed is the mausoleum of the sultan built on an island-like mound and connected with the fort by a long causeway. Ghiyasuddin's tomb is worthy of a hardy soldier. Extremely severe in outline and sparing in decoration, it forms a remarkable contrast to the profusely ornamented gateway of Alauddin and the tomb of Iltutmish. The sloping walls offer a sense of strength and support to a marble dome massive yet well proportioned. Does the tomb reflect the reaction against the profligacy and pomp of the preceding period? It has at least one indigenous feature, the stone *amalaka* and the *kalasa* on the magnificent marble dome are reminiscent of the usual terminals of a Hindu temple. According to the prevailing tradition, Ghiyasuddin shares the tomb with his wife and eccentric son, Muhammad (1325-1351). How far this tradition is true we do not know. Muhammad died in far-off Sind, and the army was then in a state of rebellion. It is more likely that a younger son, who shared his father's doom, was also interred with him.

Adilabad

Muhammad transferred his capital to Adilabad, the city of the just, on the hills opposite. The ramparts were of the same style as those of his father's fortress capital, but they enclosed a much smaller area. The pride of the new citadel was Muhammad's palace of a thousand pillars, the second of its name, the first being at Siri as already noted. It was built not of stone but of timber. Ibn Batuta, who had been there, describes it as a spacious hall of a thousand columns of varnished wood that supported a wooden roof beautifully painted. Muhammad's preference for timber is not altogether unintelligible. It was in a wooden pavilion that he had welcomed his victorious father, and his enemies insinuate that by some clever contrivance he caused it to collapse and kill the old man on the spot. But Adilabad was abandoned for old Delhi before long. Siri and the older city were enclosed

within a protecting wall and Muhammad gave the new city the high sounding name of Jahanpanah or asylum of the world. The name was not without a significance. The suburbs of old Delhi had long become unsafe. Mewati desperadoes used to rob with impunity girls at the wells and reservoirs, and the chastisement they had suffered at the hands of Ghiyasuddin Balban does not appear to have left a lasting impression. In more recent years, repeated Mughal incursions had rendered the outskirts of the two cities—Siri and Qila Rai Pithora, still more insecure. The enclosing walls provided the people within with that sense of safety and security which had so long been wanting. If the enclosed city was not an asylum for the whole world, it was at least a safe asylum for the citizens of Delhi, new and old. Jahanpanah had thirteen gates one of which "opened towards *Hauz-i-khas*", Alauddin's famous tank.

Of the present remains of Jahanpanah two deserve notice here,—the Bijai Mandal and the Sathpalah Bund.

Bijai Mandal and Sathpalah Bund

The Bijai Mandal is a lofty tower of stone and masonry with a roofless octagonal room at the top. What purpose it actually served we do not know for certain. According to Sir Syed Ahmad, the Sultan used to review his troops from this tower and probably it was also used as an observation post. In conformity with the so-called new "Pathan style", introduced in the previous reign, the tower was built with sloping walls. The Sathpalah Bund has seven stone and masonry arches, from which it derives its name; and was built "for regulating the force of a stream which ran through Jahanpanah".

FIRUZABAD

MUHAMMAD'S cousin and successor Firuz (1351-1388) was a milder man, but he could not rise above the all too common temptation of founding a fresh city. Somewhat

of an archaeologist, he repaired and restored some of the older monuments of Delhi, but the urgent need of building materials led him to deeds of vandalism, which to his own cost were readily emulated by others. As Hindu and Jaina temples yielded materials for Qutbuddin's mosque, so the ruins of Siri and Jahanpanah were despoiled to find stones and bricks for Firuz Shah's capital. The pack-animals of the local traders were requisitioned for a day, and bricks were brought from the old city to the banks of the river. Firuzabad was a fairly big town and stretched from the river to Alauddin's tank and from the Kushak-i-Shikar on the ridge to the traditional site of the Pandava city. It included a large part of the later town of Shahjahanabad. Within the battlemented enclosure of the fortress Firuz built many palaces and public buildings. Not a trace however remains of his palace of grapes, the palace of the wooden gallery and the palace of the public court which, in all likelihood, corresponded with the hall of public audience of the Mughal days. The ruins of the cathedral mosque that extorted unstinted admiration from Timur can be seen opposite the pyramid that bears the Asokan pillar. Alas, it cannot be described even as a shadow of its departed grandeur.

The Pyramid of Firuz

Every old castle has its traditional secret passages and Firoz's Kotla is credited with no less than three, wide enough to allow his ladies to ride through in stately palanquins. One led straight to the river, the second connected the palace with the hunting box on the ridge and the third and the longest went towards Qila Rai Pithora. A deep hollow on the ridge is popularly believed to be the exit of the second of these tunnels but its mysteries are yet unsolved.

Secret passages

But the real wonder of Firuzabad was a tall monolith column that glittered like burnished gold. The sultan found it at Topra near Ambala while touring in the neighbourhood. Shams-i-Siraj Afif says that it had been there

since the days of the Pandavas and good historians averred that it was nothing but the walking stick of the "accursed Bhim". A second pillar of similar design and identical material was found in the neighbourhood of Meerut and Firuz Shah removed both of them to his newly built capital and installed the first on a pyramid near the Jami Masjid and the second on the ridge close to his hunting palace (Kusha's-Shikar) the ruins of which are still extant. The pillars and the inscriptions they bore occasioned wild speculations, for the pundits consulted by the Sultan had no knowledge of the strange script, nor could they say anything about the language used. The shining surface of the monolith led Tom Coryat to think that it was made of brass and he was not alone in his error. Bishop Heber believed it was a "cast metal column", for little was then known about the bright polish which the Mauryan craftsmen could impart to common sandstone. Edward Terry, Chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, suggested that the language of the epigraph might be Greek. In those days European travellers were wont to ascribe everything of unusual stature to Alexander and his men. It was only in 1837 that the ingenuity of James Prinsep solved the riddle. He successfully deciphered the inscriptions, and found that they recorded the edicts of a king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Piyadasi was later identified with Asoka, the third Maurya emperor of Pataliputra.

The arrival of the pillar was probably a great event for the common people. Shams-i-Siraj Afif, then a boy of twelve, had a vivid recollection of the transport and re-installation of the obelisk. The transport of a monolith 42 feet in height and 27 tons in weight was no easy task. "After thinking over the best means of lowering the column, orders were issued commanding the attendance of all the people dwelling in the neighbourhood, within and without the Doab, and all soldiers, both horse and foot. They were ordered to bring all implements and materials suitable for

the work. Directions were issued for bringing parcels of the cotton of the *semhal* (silk cotton tree). Quantities of this silk cotton were placed round the column, and when the earth at its base was removed, it fell gently over on the bed prepared for it. The cotton was then removed by degrees, and after some days the pillar lay safe upon the ground. When the foundations of the pillar were examined, a large square stone was found as a base, which also was taken out. The pillar was then encased from top to bottom in reeds and raw skins, so that no damage might accrue to it. A carriage, with forty-two wheels, was constructed, and ropes were attached to each wheel. Thousands of men hauled at every rope, and after great labour and difficulty the pillar was raised on to the carriage. A strong rope was fastened to each wheel, and 200 men pulled at each of these ropes. By the simultaneous exertions of so many thousand men the carriage was moved, and was brought to the banks of the Jumna. Here the sultan came to meet it. A number of large boats had been collected, some of which could carry 5,000 and 7,000 *mans* of grain, and the least of them 2,000 *mans*. The column was very ingeniously transferred to these boats, and was then conducted to Firuzabad, where it was landed and conveyed into the *Kushk* with infinite labour and skill."

The golden pillar, as it was popularly known on account of its colour, still stands where Firuz Shah had placed it but that from Meerut had a different history. It was dislodged by an accident during the reign of Farrukhsiyar and broken into five pieces. In 1838 Hindu Rao made a gift of it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal but the removal of the heavy fragments were likely to be very expensive and only the inscribed portion was sawn off and sent to Calcutta. In 1866 it was returned to Delhi and the next year all the pieces were joined together and put up on the ridge. There it now remains, it is hoped, never to be disturbed again.

Delhi-Meerut Pillar

The golden pillar has the full complement of Asoka's seven pillar edicts. The text is too lengthy to be reproduced here. Inscribed in the 26th year of Asoka's coronation the first four edicts explain how difficult it is to attain happiness in this world, how to practise morality, how to avoid sins and the duties and functions of the *lajukas*, the fifth enumerates the animals not to be killed, the sixth records the emperor's anxiety to lead his people to happiness, and the seventh narrates in detail what Asoka did to make men conform to morality.

It may be mentioned *en passant* that Timur marvelled at this pillar of peerless beauty and frankly confessed that he had come across nothing comparable to it in the wide wide world he had traversed. One wonders how he would feel could he but guess the message it was designed to convey.

Firuz's minister, the second Khan Jahan was also a great builder. He has three notable mosques to his credit. The Kalan Masjid near Turkman gate, the Khirki Masjid and the Begampuri Mosque illustrate well the architectural style of the later Tughluqs. The sloping pilasters lend the buildings an Egyptian air and the arches are without any keystone. The mausoleum which the minister built for his father (the first Khan Jahan) to the south of Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia's shrine supplied the model for the Sayyid and Lodi tombs.

Later Tughluq style

SHRINE OF NIZAMUDDIN

FROM Firuz Kotla we may turn due south to Ghiyaspur where the *Dargah* of Hazrat Nizamuddin still attracts thousands of devotees every year. He commands the veneration of Hindus and Muslims alike. We have already referred to Qutb and Muinuddin Chisti. Nizamuddin was third in apostolic order from Muinuddin and the second Chisti saint to lend sanctity to a suburb of Delhi. His ancestors belonged to Bokhara in Central Asia, but the family later migrated

to Badaun *via* Lahore. The future saint came as a humble student to Delhi and refused to be tempted by the wealth and honour that the sultanate, then at the height of its power, had to offer. His immediate apostolic predecessor was Shaikh Fariduddin, whose association converted Ajodhan into *Pak Patan* (town of purity). Fariduddin made Nizamuddin his chief disciple and left to him his cloak, prayer carpet and staff—the regalia of his holy office and the charter, so to say, of his mystic mission—which he in his turn had inherited from Qutb Sahib. The saint of Ajodhan wrought many miracles and the admirers of Nizamuddin credited him also with similar power. It was commonly believed that Siri once owed its deliverance from the horrors of Mughal occupation to his prayer. Nizamuddin scrupulously kept away from the court though more than one sultan was anxious to shower upon him those material gifts which lesser men would accept with alacrity. He lived in a hovel the remains of which are still pointed out in the compound of Humayun's tomb, and became the Shaikh of Delhi *par-excellence*. The shrine contains a cistern, the saint's tomb and the superb mosque, commonly attributed to Khizr Khan, eldest son of Alauddin Khalji. The cistern is believed to have been a work of the saint himself and the water is credited with healing properties and efficacy against evil spirits. There is a tradition that the shaikh built a mosque and he was buried in its courtyard. The mosque in question must, therefore, be identified with the Jamaat Khana to the west of the tomb. According to Ferishta, the mosque was built by Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Alauddin Khalji and a disciple of the saint. Sir Syed Ahmad attributes only the central hall to Khizr Khan and the compartments on either side to Muhammad bin Tughluq. In 1572-73 A.D. the mosque was repaired by the great emperor, Akbar. Built of red sandstone, the Jamaat Khana is one of the finest mosques of Delhi, and its latticed stone screens and pendentives are beautiful specimens of

Jamaat Khana Mosque

cally Muslim craftsmanship. The tomb, however, is not the work of any single individual, or of any particular age. The reverence of successive generations has extended, embellished and renovated the original building. Muhammad Tughluq built a cupola over the grave. His successor, Firuz, claims to have added arches and sandal-wood lattices. In 1562 Faridun Khan rebuilt the tomb, and forty-six years later (1608-9) Farid Murtaza Khan supplied a lovely canopy of mother of pearl and wood. Thus did "two Farids make ready for the Shaikh of Delhi all (that is needed) in this world and the next. One Farid gave him a transitory building, the other (his preceptor, Shaikh Fariduddin) raised him to the position of ever lasting life". In 1652-53 Alamgir II devoutly offered his grateful thanks to the saint in an inscribed tablet for his elevation to the throne, but his reference to "the royal crown of whole world" and "the kingly crown of Hind" is likely to raise a derisive smile to-day. In 1882-83 Khurshid Jah of Hyderabad built a marble balustrade around the grave. In more recent years the Nizam of Hyderabad paid his homage to the Nizam of Delhi, and liberally provided for the restoration of the faded paintings of the dome.

The Saint's tomb

Of the distinguished personages who sought their last resting place in this shrine, are Amir Khusru, "the sweet-tongued parrot of Hind", who wrote verses in Hindi, Persian and Arabic, the gentle princess Jahanara, daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan, whose humility would not permit her grave to have any other covering, but a bed of green grass and Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748), who probably expected to be forgiven for all his lapses in this world through the intercession of the saint in the next. Popular tradition identifies a nameless grave near the poet's tomb with that of Ziyauddin Barni, author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*. Next to Muhammad Shah sleeps Mirza Jahangir, the eldest son of Akbar II, whose restless spirit might have found a better scope in the days of his

Tombs of Jahanara, Muhammad Shah and Mirza Jahangir

great namesake. Near the shrine of Nizamuddin stand two mausoleums of a later day. Shamsuddin Muhammad, Akbar's foster father, was done to death by Adham Khan, a spoilt son of another of the emperor's foster parents. Akbar, then in the prime of youth, stunned the murderer with a single blow of his fist and hurled him down a precipice. Adham Khan was interred on the outskirts of Rai Pithora's city and his tomb is still to be seen there. His victim was buried in a pretty tomb specially built for the purpose by his son, Mirza Aziz Kukaltash, who himself sleeps in the Chausat Khambah near-by.

Before we take leave of the Shaikh of Delhi a reference, however brief, must be made to his chief disciple and apostolic successor, Nasiruddin, Chiragh-i-Delhi (the light of Delhi). A Sayyid by birth, he came to the city he was to illuminate when he was forty years of age. Nasiruddin forsook his preceptor's *dargah*, and betook himself to the village of Khirki far from the bustle of the crowded metropolis. There he lived and died a victim of royal persecution and a martyr to intolerant fanaticism. With him were interred the most prized heirloom of the Chisti ascetics, the cloak, the staff and the carpet of prayer, which he had received from Shaikh Nizamuddin. His tomb is of little architectural interest, but near it were buried two monarchs of very different character, Buhlul, the sturdy Pathan architect of Lodi fortune, and Farrukhsiyar, a weak but wicked puppet of the Sayyid king-makers.

Nasiruddin, 'the Light of Delhi'

THE SAYYIDS AND THE LODIS

FIRUZ Shah had lived too long. The Tughluq empire was fast going to pieces, and in his old age the sceptre imperceptibly slipped from his feeble hands. He did not formally abdicate but had to share his royal authority, or what remained of it, with his son. His sons and grandsons fought among themselves for the shadow of power and

Collapse of the Tughluqs

prestige that was still associated with the sultanate of Delhi and the very streets of the metropolis became scenes of bloody strifes and factious fights. At last the provincial governors asserted their independence, new kingdoms were founded and petty rulers raised their turbulent heads all over northern India, until "the realm of the ruler of the world" was limited to the few square miles of barren land that stretch from Delhi to Palam. The *coup de grace* to the tottering sultanate was administered by Timur in 1398. He came, he conquered and left a trail of death and desolation behind him. The last Tughluq sultan had quietly made himself scarce, and Timur pretended to treat Hindusthan as an annexed dependency and appointed a viceroy for its government.

The Sayyids (1414-1451), who followed the Tughluqs, were shadow kings. The first of the line preferred to rule as an agent of Timur rather than in his own rights, but even he indulged in the vain luxury of a new capital. Khizrabad has gone the way of Kilokheri, and not a brick of Khizr Khan's palace is to be found. His son gave his name to Mubarakabad, another city of fleeting fortune where the founder was entombed. The third king of this dynasty, Muhammad Shah (1434-1444), was buried in the village of Khairpur. The last Sayyid had tamely transferred his power of Buhlul Lodi without striking a blow.

Tombs of Mubarak Shah and Muhammad Shah

Of Lodi monuments (1451-1526) only two deserve special mention. Buhlul (1451-1489), the founder of the family, probably ruled at Siri. His son, Sikandar (1489-1517), transferred his capital to Agra, and Delhi suffered a temporary eclipse. But the honour of receiving the mighty sultan after his death was not denied to the traditional seat of Muslim power. The tomb of Sikandar Lodi looks like a fortress, a worthy resting place for so brave a warrior. The battlemented enclosure gives the place a martial air which was quite in keeping with the departed

Sikandar Lodi's Tomb

monarch's taste. By the clever device of adding a sloping buttress to the angle the pillars are given a sloping effect so characteristic of this period, and copious use is made of enamelled tiles of many hues both for inner and outer decoration. We may quote here Fergusson's description of a typical Pathan tomb which applies for all practical purposes to all mortuary buildings of this period. "It consists of an octagonal apartment, surrounded by a verandah following the same form—each face being ornamented by three arches of the stilted pointed form generally adopted by the Pathans, or rather Sayyids, and it is supported by rectangular pillars, which are almost as universal with them as this form of arch. It is a form evidently borrowed from the square pier of the Jains, but so altered and so simplified that it requires some ingenuity to recognise its origin in its new combination." In Sikandar's reign was built the beautiful Moth-ki-Masjid and thereby hangs a tale. "Once upon a time, a poor man picked up a grain of *moth* (pulse) which he sowed in the earth and vowed to devote its produce to a charitable purpose; season after season this was multiplied, till the produce of several harvests were large enough to defray the cost of this mosque." Carr Stephen considers it a good specimen "of the style of architecture which was common in the time of the Lodis". Fanshawe goes so far as to suggest that it served as a model for Sher Shah's Qila-i-kuhna Masjid. Ibrahim, the last of the Lodis, was killed in the first battle of Panipat (1526) and the throne of Delhi passed to the house of Timur.

Moth-ki-Masjid

PURANA QILA

BABUR (1526-1530), the founder of the dynasty of Great Mughals, died in India, but his mortal remains were carried to the milder climes of Kabul. His son, Humayun (1530-1538, 1555-1556), was chased out of the country by his Pathan rival, Sher Shah. Under Sher (1538-1545) and

Humayun after him, Indraprastha once more came to its own. The Purana Qila where they held their court is within the bounds of New Delhi of to-day. As Firuz despoiled the older cities of Siri and Jahanpanah, Sher obtained his building materials from the ruins of Firuzabad. One emperor pulled down the city of another without any compunction, and many ancient monuments were thus lost to posterity. Popular opinion attributes the enclosing walls of the fort to Humayun and the buildings inside to his rival. If so, Akbar must have inherited his predilection for indigenous art from his father, for in the gateways of the old fort we find a happy synthesis of Hindu and Muslim styles. The pointed arch harmonises with Rajput Chattris, Hindu pavilions are supported by Hindu brackets, and the northern gate, better-known as Tallaqi Darwaza, has among its decorations a rude representation of the solar orb and two panels depicting a man engaged in a mortal combat with a lion in half-relief. Over the southern gate we find similar panels with elephants instead. Evidently the aesthetic instincts of the Muslim artists had got the better of the religious prejudices of the earlier generations. The ramparts of the old fort are pierced by three gates, and three wickets and the river at one time used to wash its eastern base and feed the protecting moat on the other three sides. The palaces inside the fort are gone, and it is not possible to reconstruct the old plan until archaeology comes to the aid of history. Only two notable buildings have survived, the Qila-i-Kuhna Masjid which may rightly be regarded as the forerunner of a new style and Sher Mandal on the steep stairs of which Humayun missed his step and tumbled out of the world. The Masjid "is one of the most satisfactory of buildings of its class in India", according to Fergusson. It consists of a single hall with five arched gates "arranged in panels carved with the most exquisite designs and ornamented with parti-coloured marbles". Another architec-

Tallaqi Darwaza, the Forbidden gate

Qila-i-Kuhna and Sher Mandal

tural peculiarity of this mosque is the bracket under the balconies which was later copied by Akbar at Agra. It has only one dome, no minar and no court-yard. Visitors may be interested in a well in the compound of the mosque which testifies to the munificence of Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan (d. 1919). It was in the grounds of this historic fort that the Inter-Asian Conference was held in March, 1947. Opposite the main or western gate of the fort and not far from it is Khair-ul-Manazil. It is a combined mosque and college built by Akbar's foster mother Maham Anaga. Like the Qila-i-Kuhna Masjid it has a single dome. There is reason to believe that the Khair-ul-Manazil was meant exclusively for women, and girls were admitted to the attached school.

Khair-ul-Manazil : a college for women

THE EARLY MUGHAL DELHI—DINPANAH

HUMAYUN'S Delhi or Dinpanah probably extended as far south as his own cemetery which furnishes a fairly good example of a Mughal garden tomb. The Mughals delighted in terraced gardens with plenty of running water and fountains playing at intervals. They would provide for a cascade or a wide sheet or *chadar* of water if circumstances so permitted. The ground surrounding Humayun's tomb still retains the narrow courses through which water ran and several terraces can still be traced. Unfortunately most of the Mughal gardens have suffered from neglect and interference from people with a different taste. The Shalimar has gone wild, but some idea of what a Mughal garden was like can be formed from what remains of Raushanara garden near Sabzi Mandi, the Talkatora garden at the foot of the ridge behind the Governor-General's estates and the Qudsiah garden outside the Kashmiri gate. The average tourist seldom visits the Shalimar which is outside the limits of the city. The word

Humayun's Tomb

Mughal Gardens

is of uncertain etymology and it has been tentatively suggested that it may be a compound of *shala*, hall, and *mar*, armour or mirth. Two other gardens, better preserved and better known, one at Lahore and the other at Srinagar, bear the same name. The Raushanara garden is named after a daughter of Shah Jahan.

Raushanara and Qudsiah Baghs

A partisan of Aurangzeb, she rose to influence and power when her favourite brother ascended the throne. The princess lies buried in the garden which she began to lay out in 1650. The old water-courses, however, have been now converted into flower-beds and the garden has lost many of its original features. Qudsiah Begam, wife of an emperor (Muhammad Shah) and mother of another (Ahmad Shah), gave her name to the pretty garden which once stood on the banks of the Jumna. The river has since receded further east and the enclosing walls have also been removed, but the garden is still a popular recreation ground. As a model of a Mughal garden the present remains are hardly satisfactory. The Mughal garden in the Government House, however, offers a better illustration than any of its prototypes. The garden between the Chandni Chauk and the railway station that now goes by the name of Queen Victoria was originally called Begam Bagh after Jahanara Begam, Shah Jahan's daughter, who laid it out in 1650.

Besides the garden with its fountains and running streams Humayun's tomb had for its complement a *madrasa* and a mosque. The upper storeys of Humayun's tomb were designed to serve as a *madrasa*. Ghaziuddin's tomb, near the Ajmer gate, still houses an educational institution, the Anglo-Arabic College recently rechristened Delhi College.

Humayun's tomb

Although none of the most illustrious emperors of the house of Timur was interred here, Humayun's mausoleum may be regarded as the imperial cemetery *par excellence*, and more than one hundred members of the ruling family were buried in its vaults. No less than five uneasy heads

that bore the Mughal crown—Zahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Rafiuddarajat, Rafiuddaulah and the second Alamgir attained here the ease and peace that was denied them in their life-time. Here was buried the headless trunk of Dara in an unidentified vault in a nameless grave, and here also lies another unsuccessful aspirant to the throne, Azam Shah, son of Aurangzeb, who paid with his life the price of his ambition at Jajau near Agra. It was in Humayun's tomb that the last titular emperor, Bahadur Shah, had sought refuge after the mad orgies of the mutiny were over. Verily this mausoleum is a mute witness of the rise, decline and fall of the Timurid power in India.

HUMAYUN'S MAUSOLEUM—A NEW SYNTHESIS

HUMAYUN'S mausoleum marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Indian architecture. It was built by his widow, Haji Begam, who had shared his exile in Persia. The architect drew his inspiration from that country but had to adjust his design to the materials locally available, and allowance had to be made for the tastes and habits of his workmen. The materials were not new. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq's tomb is built of marble and red stone, his nephew Firuz had used marble and red sand-stone in rebuilding the fourth and fifth storeys of the Qutb Minar, and the same combination was successfully utilised in Sher Shah's Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque. White marble and sandstone were used with marvellous effect in the new mausoleum. It is situated in a pleasant enclosed park of a fair dimension. The enclosure is pierced by four lofty gateways wide enough to admit a full view of the building inside from a distance. The main entrance is approached by another gateway and the space between is planted with green shady trees. The mausoleum has a simple dignity all its own. As a work of architecture it can rightly claim a superiority in some

Persian influence

The Gateways.

respects to the more famous Taj. The architect has successfully avoided the conventional severity of the later Pathans and the over-ornamentation of the voluptuous Khaljis, while courageously refusing to yield to the romantic sensationalism which marks Mughal works of a later age.

The marble dome

The marble dome combines strength and dignity and compares favourably with the bulbous superstructure below which rest Shah Jahan and his queen. Nor is it defaced by harsh black ribs which disfigure the dome of the Jami Masjid. Indian workmen have left their indubitable mark on Humayun's tomb, though it is not perceptible from below. Around the dome they built four small rooms, airy and open with pillars and corbelled arches so characteristic of the country. From the roof of Humayun's tomb can be obtained a panoramic view of Delhi old and new, on a clear sunlit winter morning when the sky is blue and the atmosphere is dust-free. On one side the lofty minar towers above the green outline of the gardens below, the cyclopean ramparts of the forsaken city of Tughlaq Shah frown gloomy and forbidding, and the massive dome of Ghiyasuddin's tomb shines bright and dazzling; on the other side spread the two cities of Delhi; the War Memorial and the Government House can be clearly seen with the Old Fort, Firuz's Kotla and the tapering minarets of the Jami Masjid beckoning the weary wayfarer.

Ferguson doubts whether Akbar had anything to do with the design of his father's tomb since it radically differs in architectural plan and decorative motifs from his buildings. But "it is a noble tomb, and anywhere else must be considered a wonder."

From the terrace of the mausoleum is seen, outside the enclosure, the blue dome of another tomb, the barber's as it is commonly believed. Most probably [illegible] Khan, the faithful friend of Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim Khan lies buried here. The dome must have looked very lovely in its beautiful

encasing of blue enamelled tiles. Abdur Rahim's own tomb, not far off, has unfortunately been shorn of all its ornaments. Irreverent hands removed all the marbles and only the naked core of the building remains. Yet Abdur Rahim deserved better of his country and countrymen. Son of Bairam Khan and a trusted minister of Akbar, he represented all that was best in Muslim and Hindu cultures.

Abdur Rahim

A good general and able administrator he devoted his scanty leisure to the cultivation of letters, and his Hindi devotional verses have been universally admired. No Hindi anthology will be complete without some hymn from Rahim's *Satsai*. He knew how to reconcile the catholicity of the country of his birth with the rigid demands of the faith to which he was born. It is difficult to say whether his eclecticism was due to the spirit of the age or inherited from his Mewati mother, whose Hindu ancestry may have been responsible for Rahim's devotion to Srikrishna. In an old painting in the Fort Museum Rahim is depicted as worshipping that popular Hindu deity.

Reference has already been made to two mortuary buildings of Akbar's time, Adham Khan's tomb near the Qutb, popularly known as the labyrinth (*Bhul-bhulaiyan*), and Shamsuddin Atgah Khan's near Dargah Hazrat Nizamuddin.

Nili Chhatri

A third tomb of the same period stands half way between Purana Qila and Nizamuddin's shrine. It was built by Nawbat Khan, a noble of the imperial court, and the blue tiles that once ornamented the dome account for its popular appellation—Nili Chhatri—the blue parasol.

The last notable garden mausoleum of Delhi is that of Safdar Jang, the second independent ruler of Oudh, but even a casual visitor will perceive that the style is conventional and decadent.

Safdar Jang's

Outside the main enclosure of Humayun's mausoleum once stood a spacious hostel called Arab Sarai. Here lived three hundred Arab retainers of Haji Begum. But for the

arched gateways it is now in complete ruins. Isa Khan's tomb, which stands next, has happily escaped this fate. It is a typical Pathan mausoleum of the later days, where the pseudo sloping pillars at the angles of the octagonal plinth conform to the common style. Yellow, green and blue enamelled tiles were used with good effect in the mosque confronting the tomb.

Arab Sarai and Isa Khan's Tomb

We may take note here of the tomb of "the iron hearted" Mirza Najaf Khan in Aliganj not on architectural, but on historical grounds. A Persian of noble descent he strove hard to save what was still left of the once great Mughal empire, but it was beyond human competence to rejuvenate a rotting cadaver. In 1782 the empire was not dying but dead. The Mirza will be remembered for what he attempted and not for what he achieved.

Najaf Khan

SHAH JAHAN'S DELHI—SHAHJAHANABAD

AKBAR (1556-1605) left Delhi for Sikri and Agra. His son (1605-1627) passed through the old capital on his way to Kashmir. It was left for Shah Jahan (1627-1658) to restore to the old capital its lost prestige and past pre-eminence. Dinpanah was associated with Humayun's misfortunes and Shah Jahan decided to build a new city and fortress palace that would excel those of Agra in grace and elegance. While his grandfather built in red sand-stone Shah Jahan built in costly marble, but at Delhi the red stone was once again permitted to play its part. The lofty ramparts, the tall gateways, the music hall (Nakar Khana) and the spacious hall of public audience are in red stone. The principal palaces were built of nobler materials. Shah Jahan himself planned the fort and divided the space into regular squares and rectangles. Inside the fort were office buildings, ceremonial markets and residences of the palace officials besides the palaces where

Lal Qila

the emperor and his family lived. But a palace could not be considered complete without its complement of gardens, fountains and water courses. Two lovely gardens, the Mahtab (moon) and the Hayat Baksh (life giving), embellished the open space, and streams of water flowed not only through the gardens but through the very halls of the palace. A constant supply of water was for this purpose obtained from the Jumna by the ingenuity of Ali Mardan Khan, perhaps the greatest irrigation engineer of his time. His stream of paradise (Nahr-i-Bihist) came over a scalloped marble cascade in the open arcade by the Shah Burj, and fed the tanks and fountains and rippled over the marble flowers and foliage in their shallow bed in the Rang Mahal, creating an illusion to which none but a poet can do justice. To revive the glory that Lal Qila once was, the visitor will have to call his imagination into service. Man and time have caused havoc here. One of the gardens is completely gone, the female quarters have been entirely demolished and ugly barracks have raised their monstrous heads. Modern utilitarian buildings offer but an incongruous setting for the poetry that Shah Jahan wrought in stone. Yet some idea can be formed of his work from what remains of it. The Lahore gate almost faces the cathedral mosque opposite, and leads through a vaulted passage flanked with shops and stalls to the Nakar Khana where music used to be played in the palmiest days of Mughal glory. Beyond the Nakar Khana is an open space where the nobles used to crowd under a rich canopy on their way to the pillared hall of public audience. Gone are the carpets, the awnings, the gold and silver railings that added to the grace of this far-famed hall. But the richly carved and inlaid marble platform where the emperor sat high above his subjects is still there. Here one can see some specimens of Italian pietra-dura work, and a small piece depicting Orpheus fiddling to wild animals is attributed

Mahtab and Hyat Baksh

Stream of Paradise

Diwan-i-'Am

to Austin de Bordeaux. The hall of private audience with its well-known legend in Persian is still extant and so are the Hammam, the Tasbih Khana, Rang Mahal, Khwabgah and two small pavilions named after two monsoon months, *Sawan* and *Bhadon* below which running water with artificial illumination caused an illusion of clouds and rain. The exquisite Pearl Mosque was Aurangzeb's contribution and the puritan spent no less than 160,000 rupees for this personal chapel of his. The last titular emperor, Bahadur Shah II, built a small marble pavilion, Hira Manzil, on the terrace facing the river. Three of the principal Burjs and all the gateways have been preserved but everything else is gone. The Persian, the Afghan, the Maratha and the Jat all in the dire days of the Mughal downfall despoiled the palaces of their gold and silver ceilings and the precious stones with which the marble pillars were richly inlaid. After their cupidity was satiated, came others who removed marble baths and sundry objects of art across the sea. In the days of Akbar II the stately Diwan-i-'Am became a common number room. As Fergusson observes, the best buildings of the fortified palace have been spared, but "Situated in the middle of a British barrack-yard, they look like precious stones torn from their settings in some exquisite piece of Oriental jeweller's work and set at random in a bed of the commonest plaster". Thanks to the efforts of the Archaeological Survey conditions have much improved since.

Pearl Mosque

A visitor to the Red Fort may cast a cursory glance at the ruins of Salimgarh, built by Sher Shah's son, Salim Shah, in 1546 A.D. In close proximity to the Red Fort to its north it had fallen into ruins early in the nineteenth century. The railway line now cuts through it and its present remnants can be seen while approaching the station over the Jumna bridge.

Salimgarh

The Jami Masjid need not keep us long. Its open courtyard can accommodate twenty thousand worshippers at a time and its twin mina-

Jami Masjid

rets lend grace and lightness which the ribbed dome might minimise. Other notable mosques of the Mughal period are the Fatehpuri Mosque built at the western end of the Chandni Chauk by Fatehpuri Begam, a wife of Shah Jahan, in 1650 A.D., Sarhandi Masjid, built in the same year by Sarhandi Begam, another wife of the same emperor, near the Lahore gate of the city, Fakhr ul-Masjid or the pride of the mosques near the Kashmir gate, built in 1728 by Fakhr-unnisa, a lady of noble birth and wife of one of Aurangzeb's grandees. In the enclosure of the Sarhandi mosque Zinnat-unnisa Begam, a daughter of Aurangzeb, had built for herself a small tomb. The mad intolerance and blind fury of the post-mutiny days demolished the tomb and levelled the grave. The princess had fondly hoped that in her grave "God's forgiveness is alone sufficient"; but human beasts had no reverence for the dead.

"Golden Mosques"

Of Sonheri Masjids, golden mosques, there are three. The first one is associated with the inhumanity of Nadir Shah, the second is in Faiz Bazar, and the third and last is in the open space near the Red Fort to its south west. Built by Javed Khan, a noble of Ahmad Shah's Court, in 1751, it is one of the most elegant mosques that Delhi can boast of. The copper guilt plates of the dome are gone but the "perfect symmetry of form", "the graceful domes" and "the slim and tapering minarets" combine to make of this diminutive hall of worship a thing of beauty so rare in an age of decadence.

Chandni Chauk

The Chandni Chauk is not to-day what it was in the early days of Shahjahanabad. A wide avenue ran from the Lahore gate of the fort to where the Fatehpuri Begam's mosque now stands and along it used to flow a pleasing *nahr* (water-course). The trees and running water gave the market place of the imperial city a rare attraction. We can imagine noble warriors riding along the avenue and the feudatory chiefs passing by on stately elephants, while veiled ladies in covered palanquins, with richly liveried attendants running

by added mystery to the busy market place. Chandni Chauk has also its own history and it shared the misfortunes of the palace fort. It witnessed the ghastly procession in which the unfortunate Prince Dara's head was carried. It was from the terrace of the Sonheri Mosque, opposite the Fountain, that the infuriated Persian invader Nadir Shah (1739) ordered a general massacre of the Delhi citizens, and blood flowed like water through the wide thoroughfares of Chandni Chauk and Dariba. At a later date a remarkable lady whom history knows as Samru's Begam lived in one of the buildings of this quarter.

City walls

The brick wall that Shah Jahan built round his city is no longer in existence. The present bastioned wall was built by David Ochterlony in 1803, after his successful defence of the city against Holkar, and certain improvements were effected in 1811. Originally the enclosing walls had fourteen gates and fourteen wickets. Now only seven gates are known, though some of them have been demolished. In 1804 Lord Lake defeated the Maratha army on the other side of the river. A building that came into much prominence during the early days of British ascendancy is the Residency which still exists, though much altered, near the General Post Office.

Jantar Mantar

The most important late Rajput relic is outside the city walls. Almost opposite the New Delhi Municipal Hall are some stout masonry works popularly known as Jantar Mantar. This is one of the Observatories that Jai Singh II, the astronomer king of Jaipur (1697-1743), built at Benares, Ujjain, Jaipur, Mathura and Delhi. The Raja had intimate knowledge of the works of Hindu and Muslim astronomers and wanted to familiarise himself with those of the western scientists. At his instance, Jagannath, his chief Astronomer, translated into Sanskrit, Ptolemy's *Almagest* from its Arabic version under the title of

Siddhante Samrat. Standard Latin text books on the subject were translated into Persian for Jaisingh's use, and there is reason to believe that he was familiar with de la Hire's *Tabulae Astronomicae* published in 1702 and John Flamsteed's *Historia Coelestis Britannica* in 1712. As Jaisingh lived from 1686 to 1743 he could claim some knowledge of the progress his science had made in contemporary Europe. He was also assisted by a Portuguese Jesuit. The observatories were built on the plan of Ulugh Beg's observatory at Samarkand.

Astronomical scholarship of Sawai Jaisingh

The Delhi observatory was probably constructed shortly after Muhammad Shah's accession to the throne. Of the masonry instruments, the central building is the *Samrat Yantra*. It is designed to indicate the local time as well as the sun's declination. Immediately to the south of the *Samrat Yantra* are the two complementary concave hemispheres of the *Jai Prakash*. This instrument shows the position of a particular sign of the zodiac "on the meridian by the position of the sun's shadow". South of the *Jai Prakash* are the two large circular buildings that constitute the *Ram Yantra*. "The walls and floor are graduated for reading azimuths and altitudes". To the north-west of the *Samrat Yantra* stands the *Misra Yantra* or mixed instrument with its components (i) *Nivat Chakra*, *Dakshinovritti Yantra* and *Karkarasivalaya*. According to Kaye, "Jaisingh refused to follow the lines of research indicated by the European astronomers" but "his scheme of astronomical work was a notable one, and his observatories still form noble monuments of a remarkable personality". In the opinion of Harold Spencer Jones, the Astronomer Royal, the massive masonry instruments of Jaisingh II "are unique and not paralleled elsewhere".

Masonry instruments

The Marathas once held Delhi under their sway, but only two buildings bear testimony to their connection with the city. The

Maratha occupation

present Nili Chhatri temple near Nigambodh Ghat is a Maratha work and the Hindu Rao hospital bears the name of a Maratha noble.

MUTINY AND LATER HISTORY

IN MAY 1857 Delhi again leaped into prominence. A scion of the imperial house of Timur still lived in Shah Jahan's palace, but he neither ruled nor reigned. In theory the sovereignty of the realm still belonged to him, but in fact he had long been shorn of all semblance of authority and even the meanest of the local officials knew that the royal title carried no prestige or power with it. The family apprehended that they might be removed from the palace after the old king's death, and younger princes must have been smarting under the control of the British commander of the palace guards while feeling the pinch of poverty so out of keeping with their immediate environment. Bahadur Shah II himself was too old to risk the security and comfort that the British protection connoted and to lead a revolution. When the sepoys from Meerut urged him to assume his rightful role he naturally recoiled. This is not the place to go into the history of the mutiny nor is it our intention to analyse its causes and consequences. In any case the sepoys believed that they were fighting for their faith, if not for their fatherland, and when they shouted victory to Prithviraj it was obvious that they were not oblivious of the vanished glories of the imperial metropolis. Normally the emperor would have been their natural leader and when his political guardians left the palace he had to identify himself with the popular cause. In any case he was not a willing partisan but a victim of circumstances. Had any of the princes been endowed with the spirit of a Babur or Akbar the history of the next few months might have been different. Those

Bahadur Shah II and the Mutiny

Englishmen and women who escaped the mutineers took refuge with Brigadier General Graves in the Flagstaff Tower near the present University buildings and vainly waited for the long expected succour from Meerut. Luckily for them two signallers from the telegraph office had succeeded in warning the authorities at Ambala of the troubles at Delhi and troops were promptly despatched.

Badli-ki-Sarai

They defeated a sepoy force at Badli-ki-Sarai while a column from Meerut won a victory at Ghaziabad. The ridge was later occupied by the British and Delhi was besieged. The officers commanding the besiegers had their posts at Hindu Rao House on the ridge (now a hospital), the Flagstaff Tower and Ludlow Castle. The city-walls were shelled from batteries constructed in the open space between the ridge and the river. One of these was called Sammy House Battery from the temple in which it was built and was situated to the east of the Mutiny Memorial. No 1 battery lay further east. No 2 was near Ludlow Castle and Nos. 3 & 4 about the Qudsiah Garden.

General Nicholson

The various graves of the British heroes are well marked by memorial tablets. A statue of General John Nicholson, who died in the hour of victory now stands in the garden without the Kashmir Gate and the remnants of the blown up magazine are still to be seen in front of the General Post Office. The mutineers had entered Delhi on the 11th May, they held the city for four months till on the 17th September the place was captured by assault. By the 19th the city was fully occupied. The old emperor had left the Red Fort and fled to Humayun's tomb, on the 21st he was captured by Lieutenant Hodson, the secret of his hiding place being discovered by one Maulavi Rajab Ali. On the 22nd three of the princes, two sons and a grandson of the king, were arrested by Hodson and unceremoniously shot without even a show of trial. Their dead bodies were exposed for twentyfour hours in front of the Kotwali no doubt to strike terror into the hearts of the recalcitrant

populace. It was here in the centre of the Chandni Chauk that gallows were erected to publicly hang the mutiny leaders of whom the foremost were Nawab Abdur Rahaman Khan of Jhajjar and Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabgarh. Thus the very spot that witnessed the orgies of Nadir Shah's days became the scene of another ruthless vindictiveness. The old emperor was tried in the Red Fort, found guilty and transported to Rangoon. The East India Company could not afford to make any allowance for extenuating circumstances, for mercy might be misconstrued as weakness. Thus were the the descendants of Shah Jahan at last removed from Shah Jahan's citadel palace. Who could then foresee that within ninety years another court-martial would be staged in the self-same hall, and the best legal brains of India would be arrayed on the side of the defence? The accused would hail not from decadent royal families but from the commissioned rank of His Britannic Majesty's armed forces and the first prime minister of India would don his barrister's gown to resume for a brief while the profession he had renounced in his country's service.

British Retaliation

I. N. A. Trial

No account of Delhi will be complete without a reference to a remarkable early nineteenth century character, Col. Skinner, who gave his name to an intrepid body of irregular horse. Field Marshal Birdwood calls Skinner an Englishman, but Emily Eden found him too swarthy of complexion. Skinner was a Eurasian in the true sense of the term. His father had for his mate an Indian girl and the son in his turn took a Muslim spouse. He began his career in Sindhia's army and unlike many of his Christian colleagues refused to fight against his former master, though he resigned his commission when the second Maratha War broke out. Skinner, however, rendered distinguished services to the new paramount power and his merit did not pass unrecognised. There is a story that in the days

Colonel Skinner

of his prosperity he paid an equal homage to the religions of his father, mother and wife by building a church, a temple and a mosque. But no trace of the temple, if it was ever built, now remains and there is no proof that Skinner's mother came from the Hindu fold. The Hindu College is at present housed in Skinner's Delhi residence, and he lies buried with his friend Theophilus Metcalfe in the church he built (St. James's Church).

NEW DELHI

FROM the early Muslim days there have been two Delhis, new and old. Kilokheri, Siri, Tughlukabad, Firuzabad, Dinpanah and Shergarh each in its turn claimed and lost the distinction of the new town. Shah Jahan's city has to-day attained the dignity of *purana shahar*, while over the ruins of the old town of his time has been built the present capital of the Indian dominion (Raisina). The new city was to be built in conformity with the past practice north of the old, but Nature intervened and anopheles disposed of what men proposed. Another site was found for the new metropolis but the old Viceregal Lodge was not doomed to share the evil fate of the palaces of thousand pillars. When the capital moved south a new seat of learning, the University of Delhi, started its career in the former Viceregal Lodge.

The New Delhi of to-day was designed by Sir Edward Lutyens. The Government house is built on a central mound and on either side of the wide road leading to the main gate are the two blocks of the Secretariat Building. Behind the northern block and in its close neighbourhood stands the Legislative Assembly building that in the old days used to house the Princes' Chamber as well. From the Government House the Kingsway leads straight to the War Memorial, popularly known as the India Gate in the Princes' Park. Around the Park stand the splendid palaces

Government House and Secretariat Buildings

of the principal ruling princes, the Nizam of Hyderabad the Gaikwad of Baroda, the Maharaja of Patiala, the Maharaja of Jaipur and the Maharaja of Bikaner. At the crossing of the Kingsway and the Queensway, to the left as one proceeds from the Secretariat to the Princes' Park looms large a massive red and white sandstone building—the National Archives of India. In the open park beyond the War Memorial was hoisted on the 15th August, 1947, the green, white and orange flag of independent India. May it be ever held aloft, an emblem of peace, love and non-violence!

National Archives and War Memorial

A private residence in New Delhi has gained ever lasting sanctity by a martyr's blood. At Birla House (21, Alburquerque Road) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was assassinated on the 30th January, 1948. His mortal remains were cremated on the banks of the Jumna at Rajghat which has since become a regular place of pilgrimage. It was near the Rajghat gate that the sepoys from Meerut found admittance into the imperial city in 1857.

Martyrdom of Mahatma

Of the new religious buildings the temple dedicated to Lakshmi-Narayan by Seth Jugal Kishor Birla attracts numerous visitors. Built in the old Orissan style, nestling on the lower slopes of the ridge, the temples is open to all Hindus irrespective of caste and creed. Behind it is a pleasant recreation ground which flanks a Buddhist temple—another example of Mr. Birla's munificence and piety.

Hindu Temple and Buddhist Vihar

DELHI OF TO-MORROW

DELHI has an evil reputation. It is a vast cemetery where kings and king-makers lie buried in an atmosphere reeking of ruined empires. Do the gloomy tombs, tottering towers and decaying mosques augur ill for resurgent India that began its career in this city of frustration?

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We believe not. India is no longer an empire, she has no territorial ambition, no colonial design, no martial aspirations. Her mission is one of service, the service of her people, the service of humanity. On her banner is emblazoned the Asokan wheel, an emblem of love, peace and toleration. Over the grave of an empire a new centre of learning may yet flourish, a new synthesis of cultures may yet be wrought, a new faith and a new ideal may yet be evolved. The old monuments are mute witnesses of racial harmony and cultural fusion. In the hall of the new University daily gather young representatives of diverse racial, religious and linguistic groups and they are unconsciously contributing to the evolution of a new nation. Modern Delhi has no atomic bomb, no munition factory, it does not seek security in bastioned ramparts. It is the head-quarters of the National Institute of Science, the seat of the Agricultural Research Institute and the National Physical Laboratory, the meeting place of the Science Congress, History Congress and Philosophy Congress. India in the days of yore excelled in the arts of peace, in the cultivation of science, in the advancement of learning. The Delhi of to-day is striving to recover the lost ground, the Delhi of to-morrow will carry the torch farther.

APPENDIX 1

THE DYNASTIES CONNECTED WITH DELHI

1. Hindu Period

1.	The Kurus	Circa 1000—C. 345 B.C.
2.	The Nandas	C. 345—C. 323 B.C.
3.	The Mauryas	C. 323—C. 185 B.C.
4.	The Indo-Greeks ...	C. 185—C. 100 B.C.
5.	The Sakas and the Kushanas	C. 50 B.C. —C. 320 A.D.
6.	The Imperial Guptas ...	C. 320—C. 500 A.D.
7.	The Huns	C. 500—C. 600 A.D.
8.	The House of Pusyabhuti	C. 606—C. 647 A.D.
9.	The Gurjara Pratiharas ...	C. 836—C. 1018 A.D
10.	The Tomaras?	C. 1052 A.D.?
11.	The Chauhans or Chahamanas	C. 1151—1192 A.D

2. Muslim Period

12.	*The Shamsabadis*	
	Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam ...	1193-1206
13.	*House of Qutbuddin (Muizzia Kings) 1206-1210*	
	Qutbuddin Aibak	1206-1210
	Aram Shah	1210
14.	*House of Iltutmish (Shamsia Kings) 1211-1266*	
	Shamsuddin Iltutmish	1211-1236
	Rukhuddin Firuz	1236
	Raziyya	1236-1240
	Muizuddin Bahram	1240-1242
	Alauddin Masud	1242-1246
	Nasiruddin Mahmud	1246-1266
15.	*House of Balban 1266-1290*	
	Ghiyasuddin Balban ...	1266-1287
	Muizuddin Kaiqubad	1287-1290

16. *Khaljis 1290-1320*

Jalaluddin Firuz	1290-1296
Ruknuddin Ibrahim	1296
Alauddin Muhammad	1296-1316
Shihabuddin Umar	1316
Qutbuddin Mubarak	1316-1320
Nasiruddin Khusru (usurper) ...	1320

17. *House of Tughluq 1320-1414*

Ghiyasuddin (I) Tughluq	1320-1325
Muhammad bin Tughluq	1325-1351
Firuz bin Rajab	1351-1388
Ghiyasuddin II	1388-1389
Abu Baki	1389-1390
Muhammad II	1390-1394
Sikandar	1394
Mahmud	1394-1396
Nusrat Shah	1396-1399
Mahmud (Restored)	1399-1413
Daulat Khan Lodi (usurper) ...	1413-1414

18. *Sayyids 1414-1451*

Khizr Khan	1414-1421
Muizuddin Mubarak	1421-1434
Muhammad	1434-1444
Alauddin Alam Shah	1444-1451

19. *Lodis 1451-1526*

Buhlul	1451-1489
Sikandar	1489-1517
Ibrahim	1517-1526

20. *Mughals 1526-1538; 1555-1857*

Zahiruddin Babur	1526-1530
Nasiruddin Humayun	1530-1538

21. *Sur Interruption 1538-1555*

Sher Shah	1538-1545
Islam Shah	1545-1554
Muhammad Adil Shah ...	1554-1555

Ibrahim Shah	1555
Sikandar Shah	1555
Mughals (Restored)	
Humayun	1555-1556
Jalaluddin Akbar	1556-1605
Nuruddin Jahangir	1605-1627
Dawar Bakhsh (pretender)	1627-1628
Shihabuddin Shah Jahan	1628-1657
Murad Bakhsh (pretender)	1657
Shah Shuja (pretender)	1657
Muhiyuddin Aurangzib Alamgir ...	1658-1707
Azam Shah (pretender)	1707
Kam Bakhsh (pretender)	1707
Qutbuddin Shah Alam I Bahadur ...	1707-1712
Azimush-Shan (pretender)	1712
Muizuddin Jahandar Shah	1712-1713
Muhiyuddin Farrukhsiyar	1713-1719
Rafi-ud-Darajat	1719
Shah Jahan II Rafiuddaulah ...	1719
Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah ...	1719-1748
Mujahiduddin Ahmad Shah Bahadur ...	1748-1754
Azizuddin Alamgir II	1754-1759
Shah Jahan III	1759
Jalaluddin Shah Alam II	1759-1806
Muinuddin Muhammad Akbar II ...	1806-1837
Sirajuddin Bahadur Shah II ...	1837-1857

APPENDIX 2

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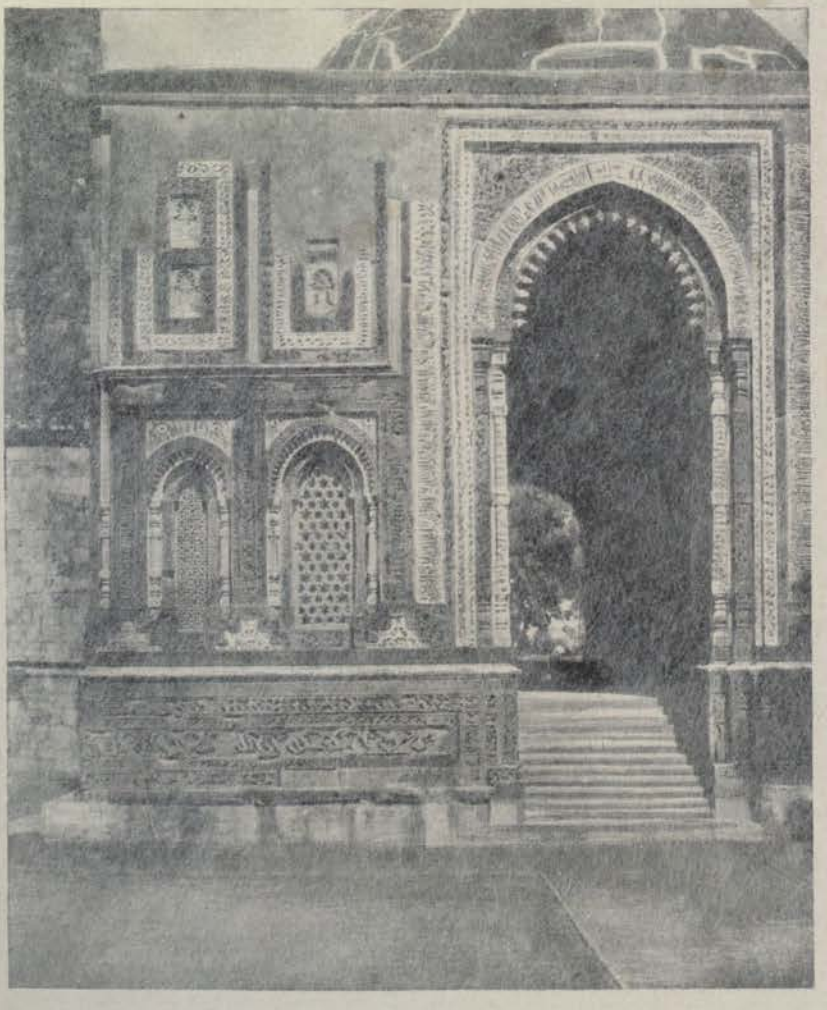
REMAINS OF RAI PITHORA'S FORT
Fortifications as exposed in excavation. (Pages 4-5).

QUTB DELHI
The Iron Pillar of King Chandra in the compound of Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque. (Pages 2-3).

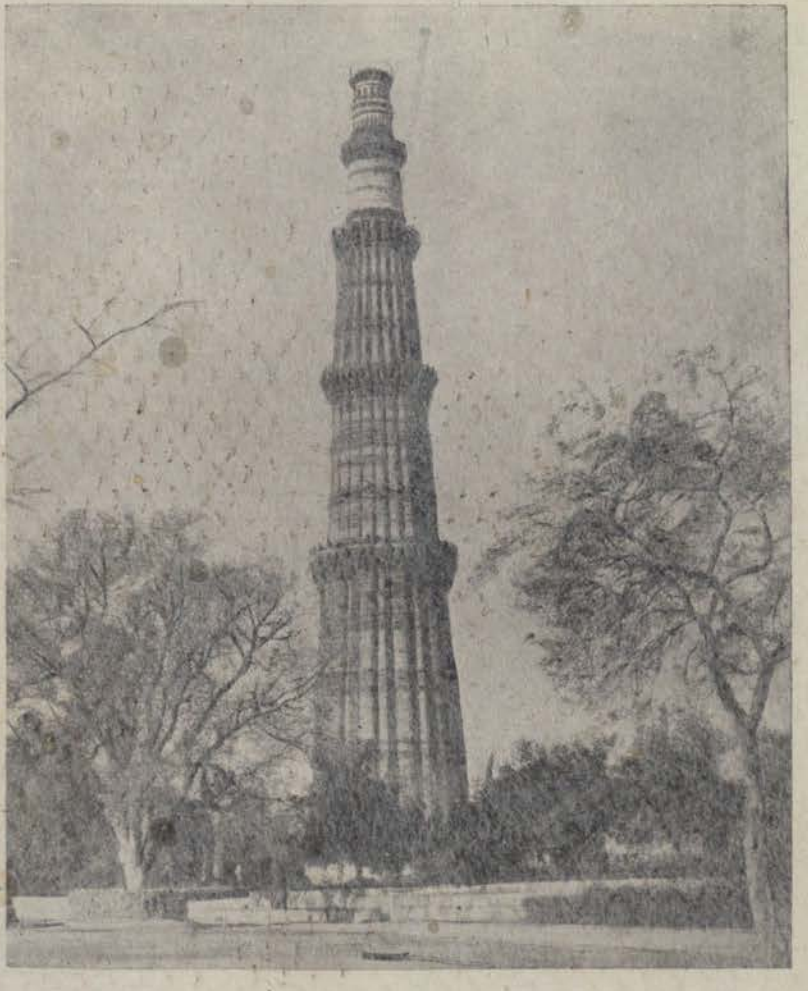
THE ARCHED SCREEN OF THE QUWWAT-UL-ISLAM MOSQUE

"Built of red and yellow sandstone, 53 feet high and 22 feet wide, with 'a lace work of delicate carving' of Hindu workmanship, the central arch still offers a faint impression of the elegance that the Quwwat-ul-Islam was in the palmy days of its glory." (Pages 6-7).



ALAI DARWAZA

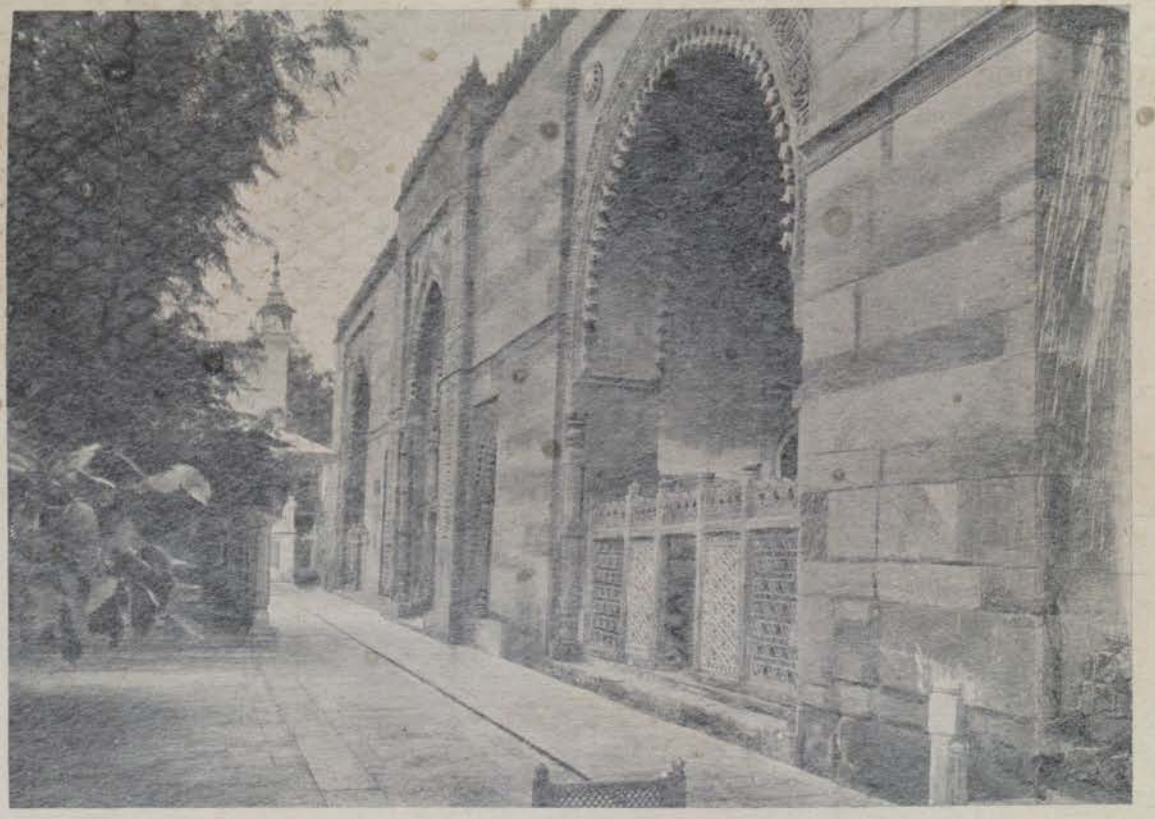
A domed gateway built by Alauddin Khalji south of the Qutb Minar. Note the horse-shoe arches, perforated windows and elaborate arabesque decorations. (Page 8).



THE QUTB MINAR. (Pages 8-12).

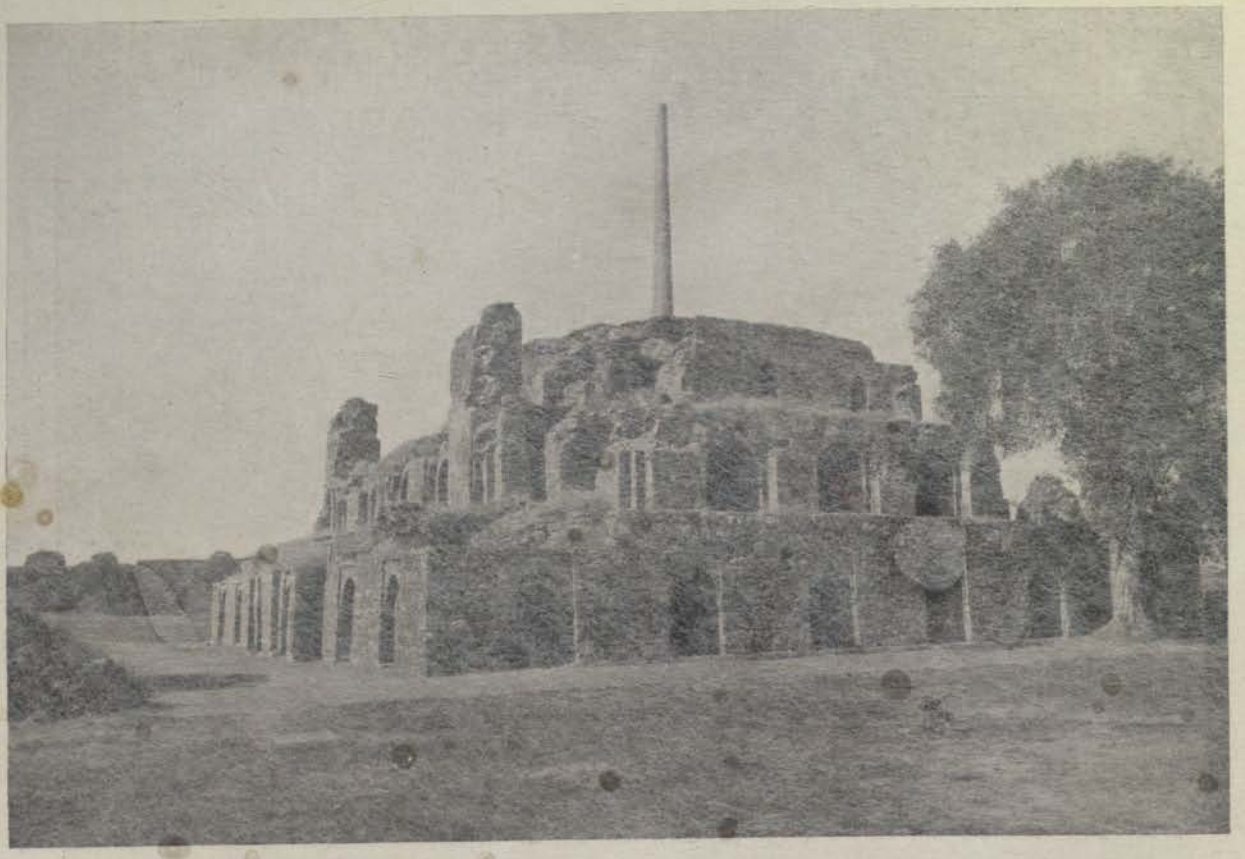
BUILDINGS ON THE BANKS OF HAUZ-I-KHAS

A magnificent tank built by Alau-ldin Khalji at the western extremity of his new town—Siri. The buildings were constructed by Firuz Shah and housed in his time a college. (Page 13).

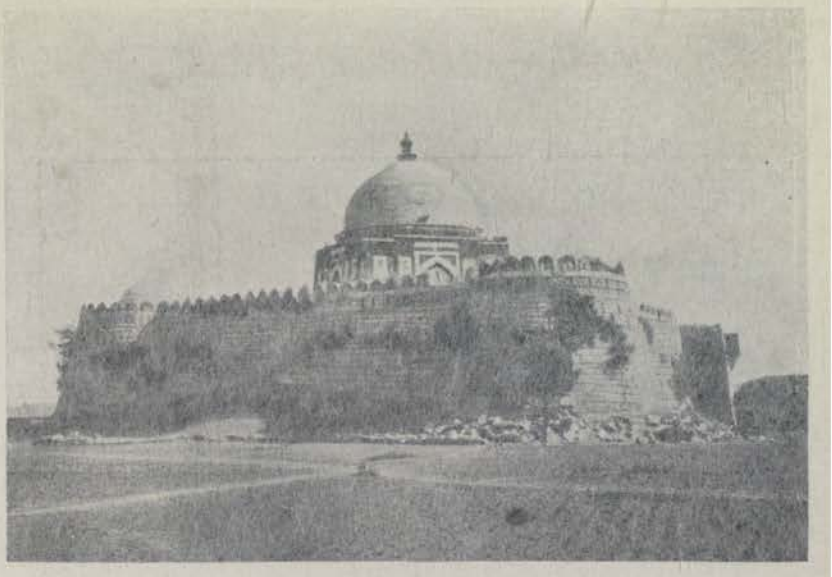


FAÇADE OF JAMAAT KHANA MOSQUE

Believed to be built by Khizr Khan, eldest son of Alauddin Khalji, at Nizamuddin's shrine. Built of red sandstone, it is one of the finest prayer-halls in Delhi. (Pages 20-21).

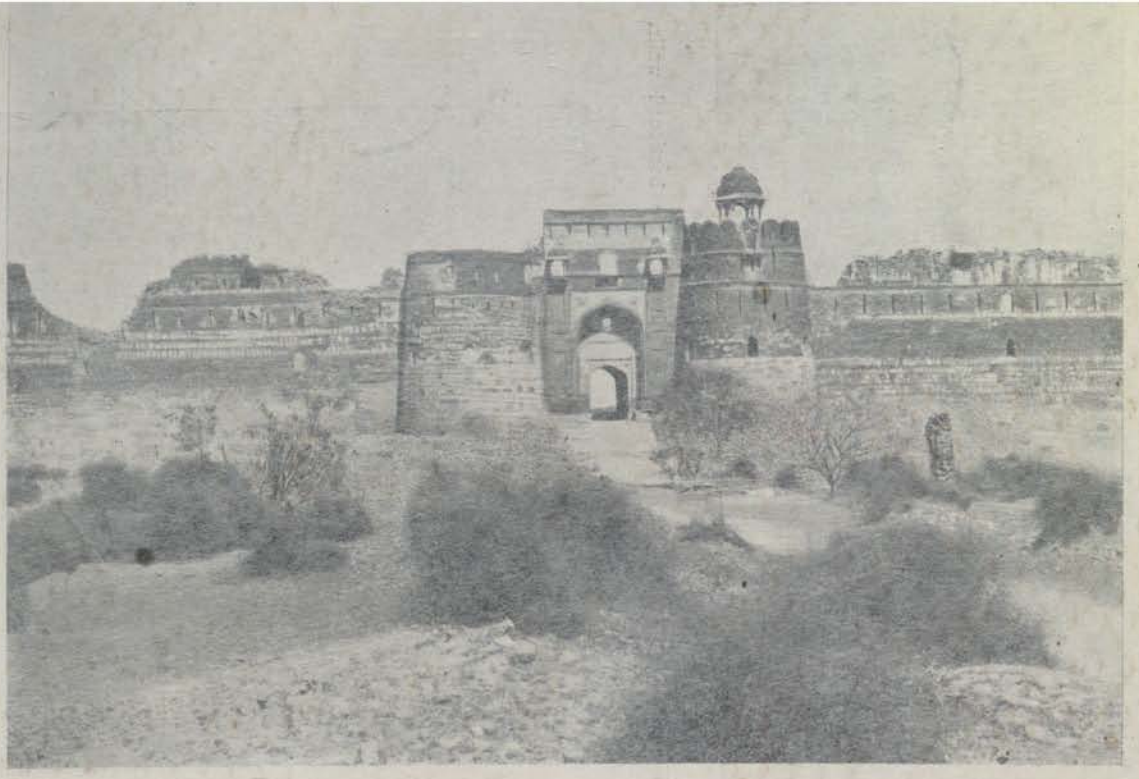


FIRUZ SHAH'S KOTLA
The Pyramid of Firuz bearing the Asokan Pillar. (Pages 16-18).

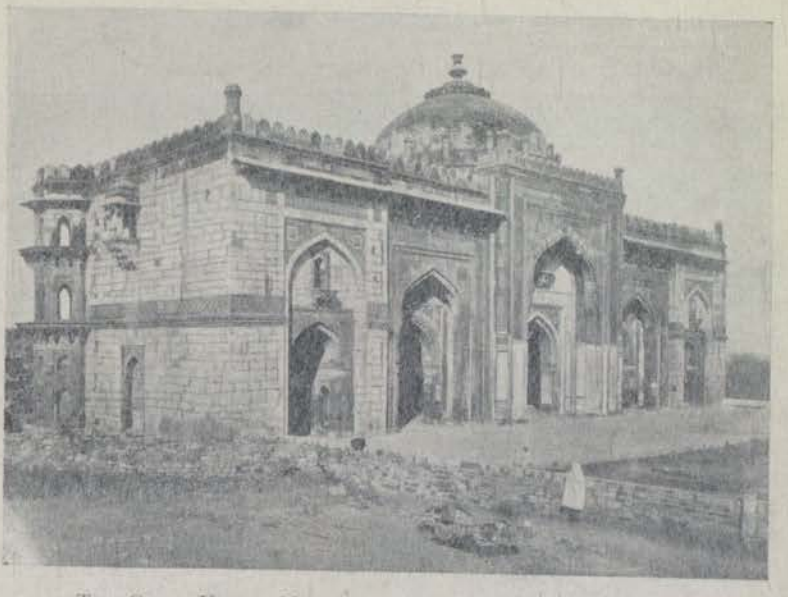


TUGHLUQABAD
Tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq surrounded by massive bastioned walls.
(Page 14).

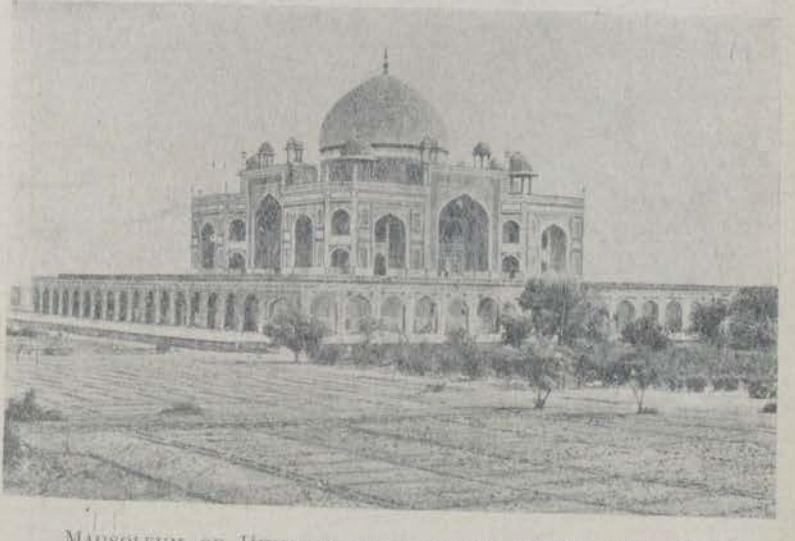
THE TOMB OF SIKANDAR LODI AT KHAIRPUR, DELHI
Note how, by the clever device of adding an inclined buttress to the angle, the pillars are given a sloping effect, so characteristic of the period. (Pages 23-24).



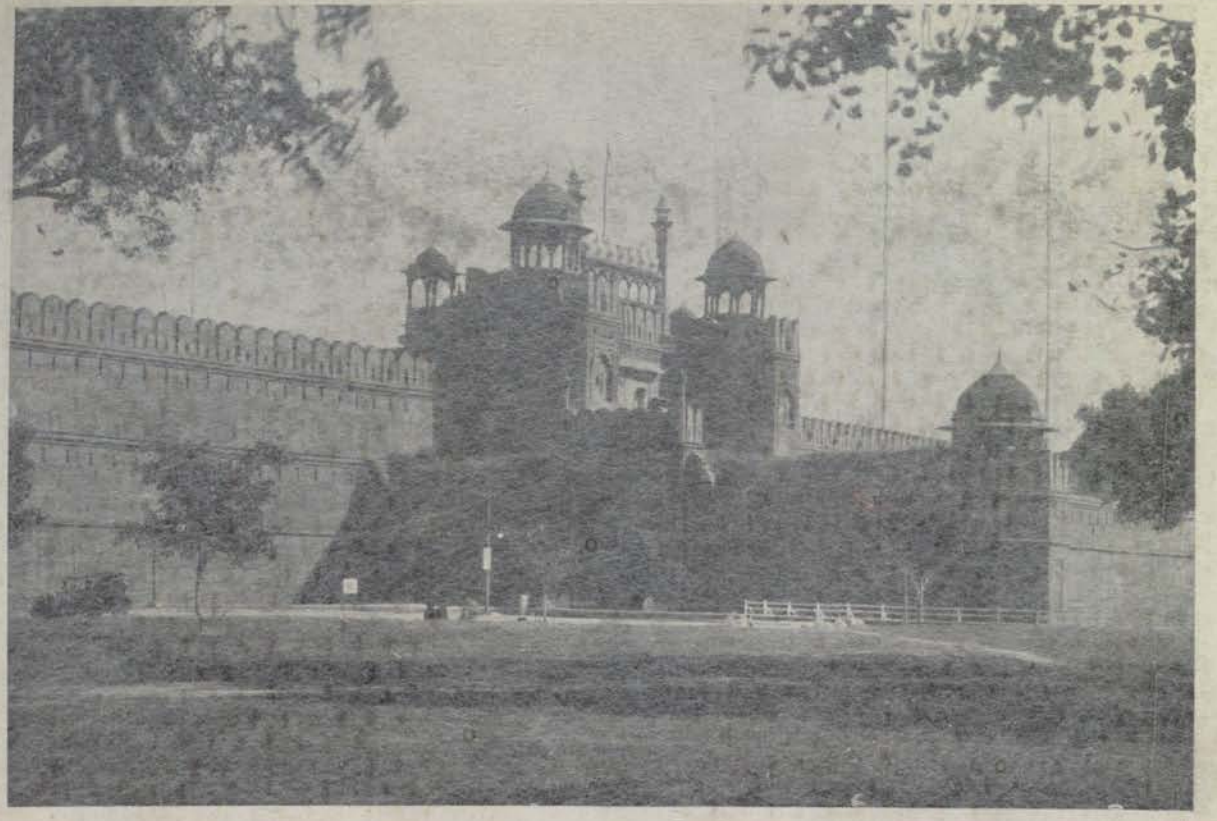
PURANA QILA OF SHER SHAH AND HUMAYUN—THE MAIN GATEWAY
The gateway with its pointed arch, Hindu Chhatris and brackets show a happy blending of indigenous and Muslim styles. (Page 25).



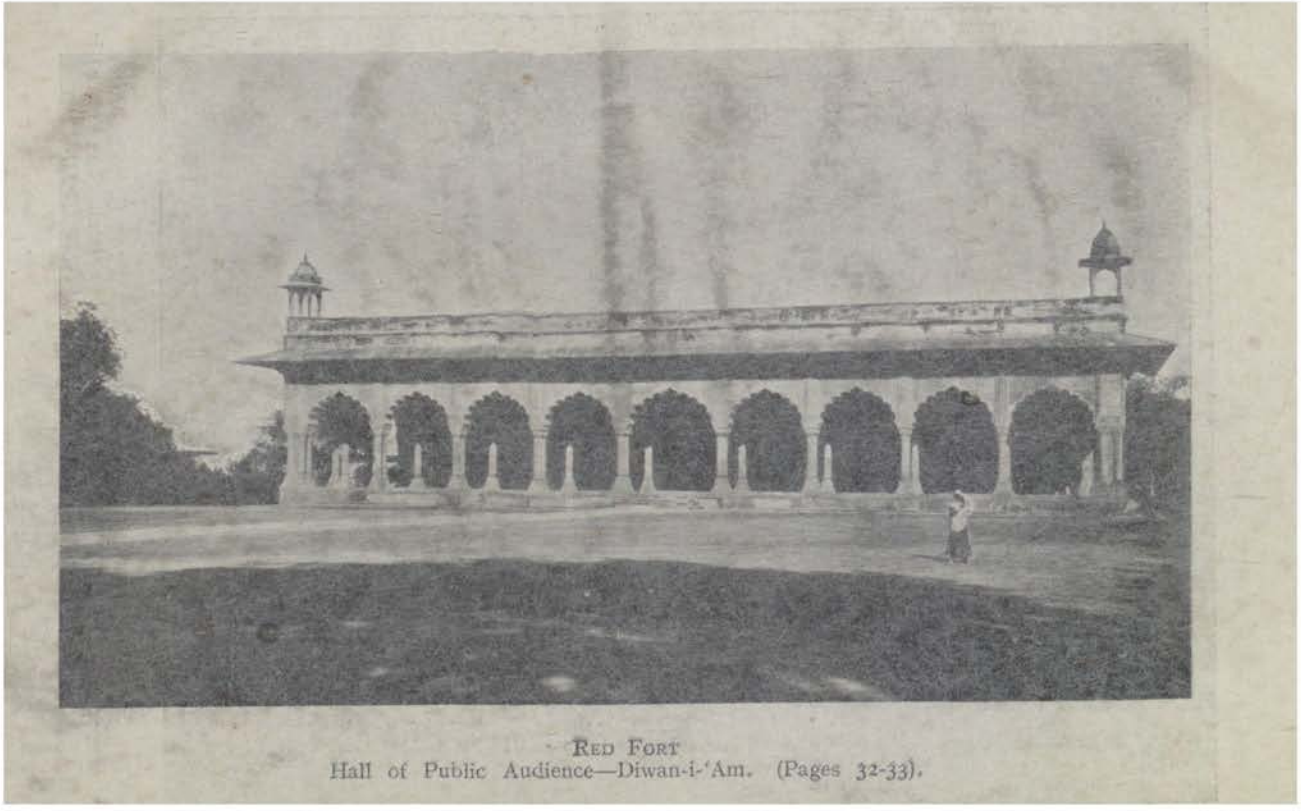
THE QILA-I-KUHNA MOSQUE OF SHÉR SHAH IN PURANA QILA
Note the five arched gateways "arranged in panels carved with the most exquisite designs and ornamented with parti-coloured marbles." Note also the bracket under balconies which was later imitated by Akbar at Agra. (Pages 25-26).



MAUSOLEUM OF HUMAYUN BUILT BY HIS WIDOW, HAJI BEGAM
Note how the architect has successfully avoided the conventional severity of the later Pathans, the over-ornamentation of the voluptuous Khaljis and the romantic sensuousness which marks later Mughal art. (Pages 28-29).

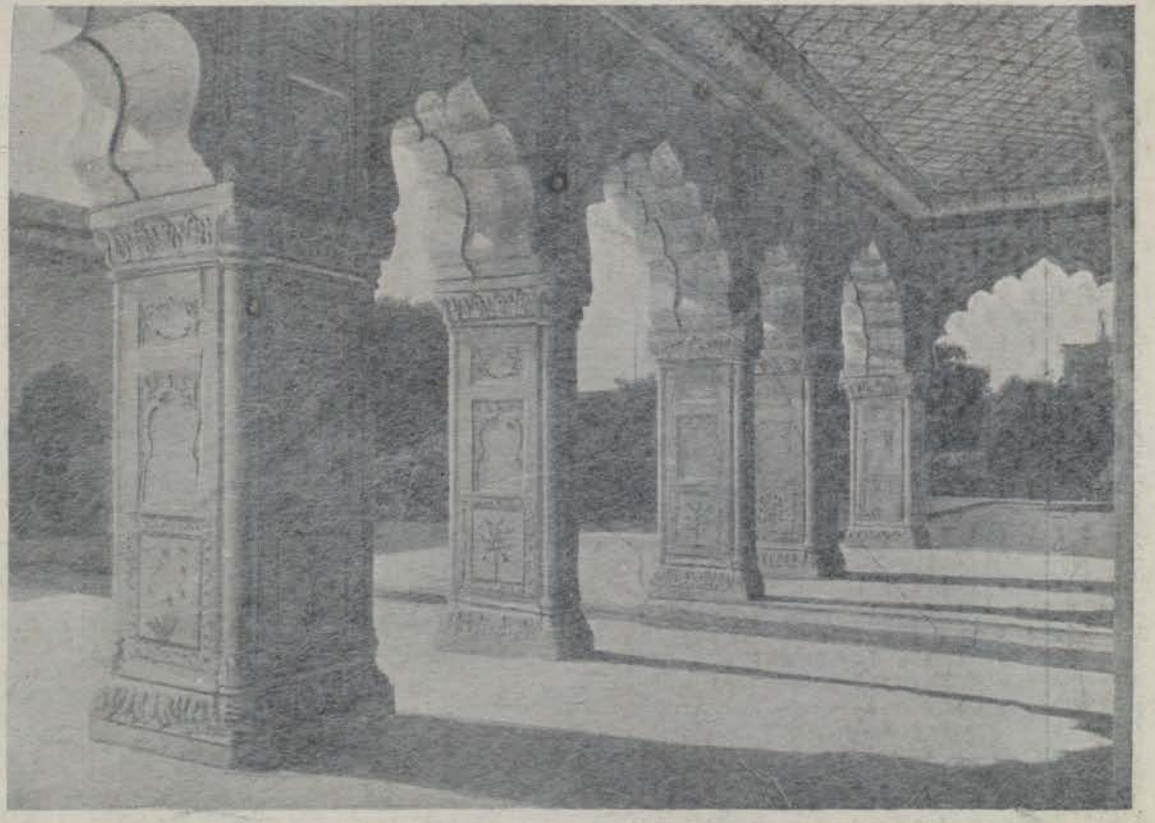


SHAH JAHAN'S RED FORT
Lahori Gate. (Page 31).

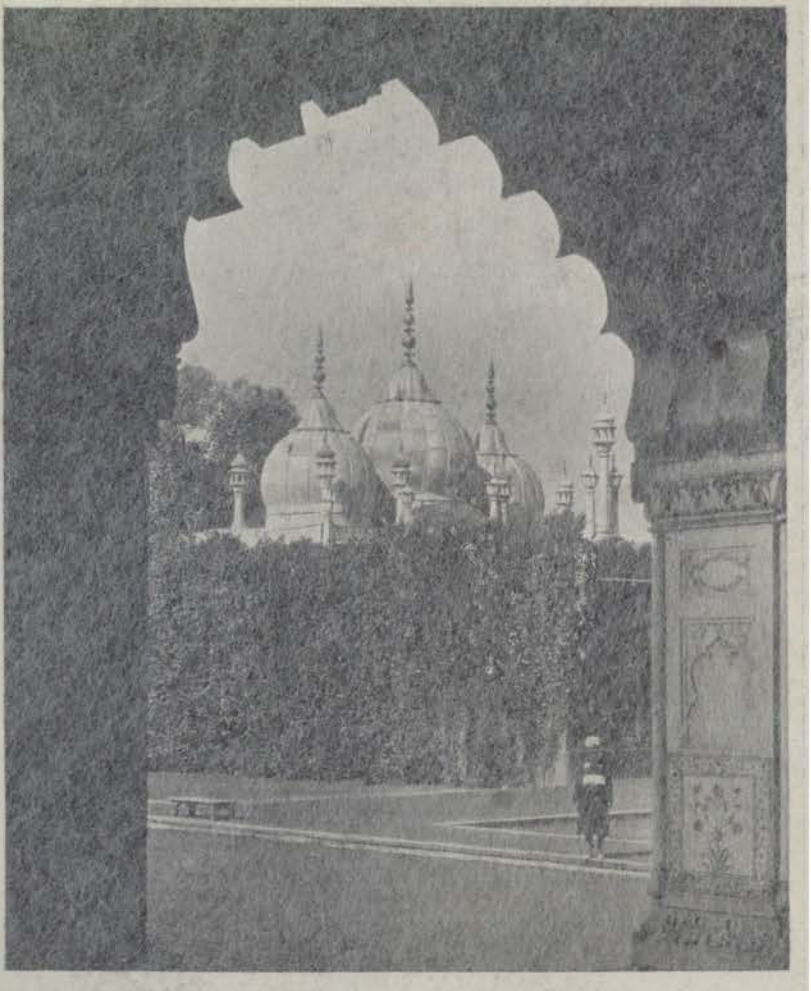


RED FORT
Hall of Public Audience—Diwan-i-'Am. (Pages 32-33).

THE HALL OF PUBLIC AUDIENCE AT THE RED FORT (DIWAN-I-'AM)
A panel depicting Orpheus fiddling a wild animal. The piece is attributed to Austin de Bordeaux. (Pages 32-33).

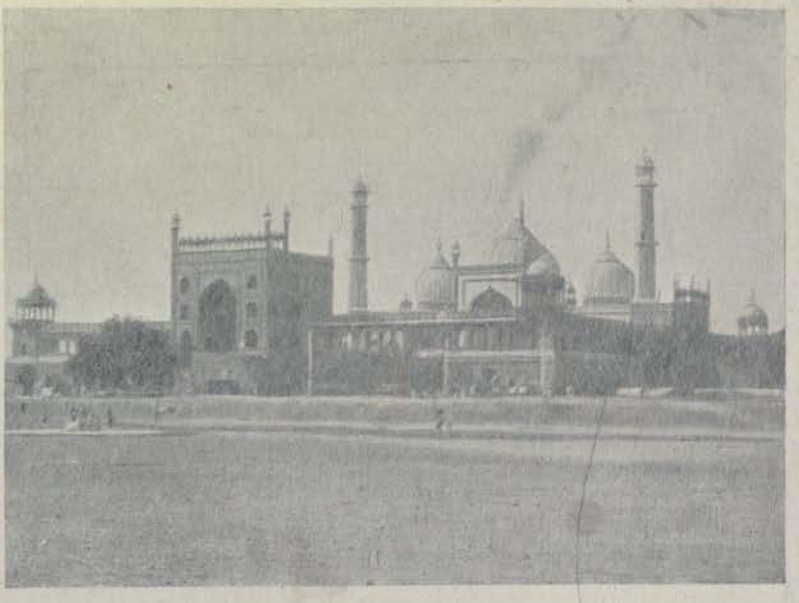


RED FORT: DIWAN-I-KHAS, HALL OF PRIVATE AUDIENCE. (Page 33).

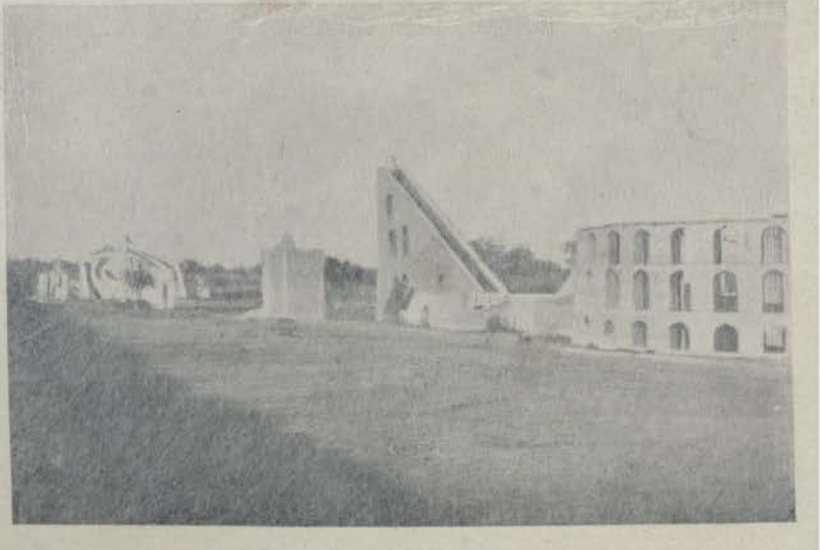


THE PEARL MOSQUE OF AURANGZEB
As seen through an arch of the Diwan-i-Khas. (Page 33).

REMAINS OF RAUSHANARA BAGH
The garden was laid out in 1650 by a daughter of Shah Jahan. (Page 27).



THE JAMI MASJID OF SHAH JAHAN
One of the biggest Mosques in the world. Its open courtyard can accommodate 20,000 worshippers at a time. (Pages 33-34).



JANTAR MANTAR
The Observatory built at Delhi by Jai Singh II, Raja of Jaipur. (Pages 35-36).

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